
MARYLAND

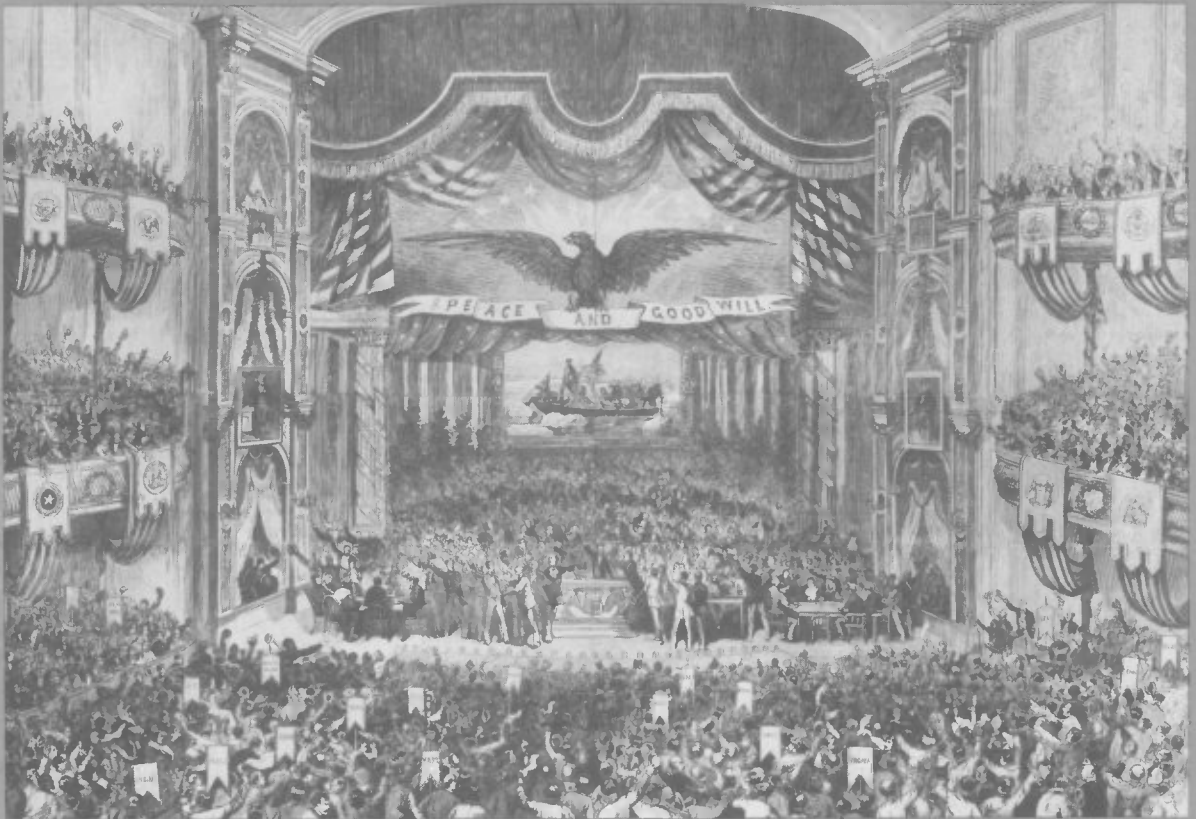
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Baltimore as a National Nominating
Convention City
Eugene H. Roseboom

The Democratic Convention of 1860
Betty Dix Greeman

The Baltimore Convention of the
Constitutional Union Party
Donald Walter Curl

Governor Ritchie and the Convention
of 1932
James Levin



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BALTIMORE AS A NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION CITY

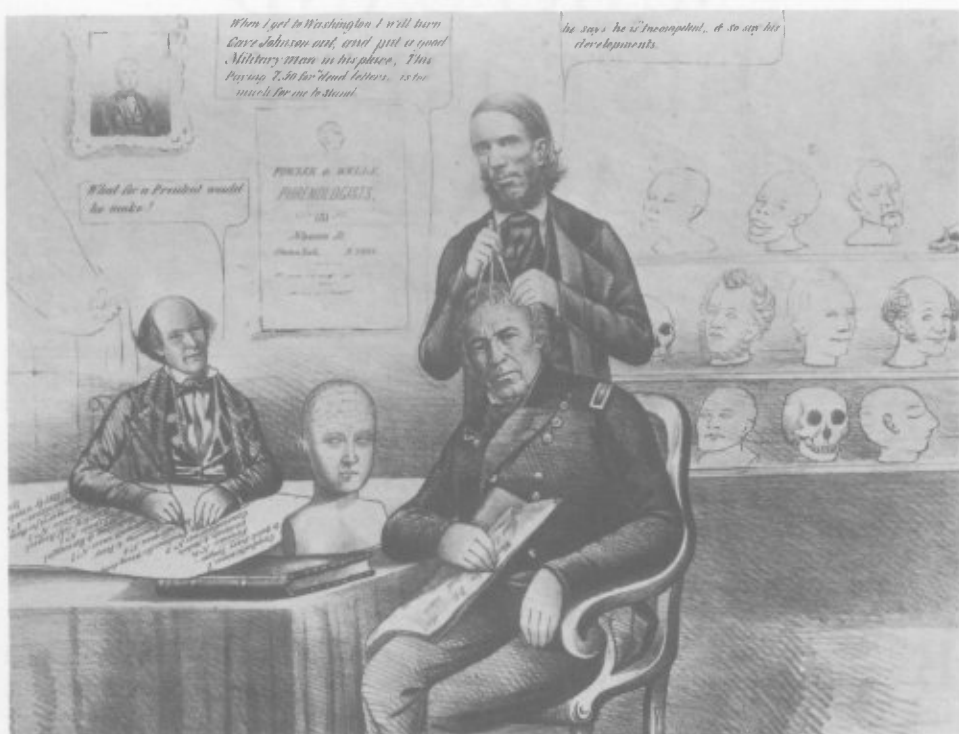
BY EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM

BEFORE the Civil War Baltimore was the favorite national convention city of both the major parties.¹ Six Democratic conventions met there, 1832-1852, Cincinnati interrupting the succession in 1856. In 1860, after the Charleston convention's debacle over the slavery issue, the divided Democrats returned to Baltimore only to continue the sectional battle and end up with two conventions and two national tickets.

The National Republican party nominated Henry Clay at Baltimore in 1831. Its Whig successor came there on two occasions, 1844 and 1852, as did a Whig segment in 1860, renamed the Constitutional Union movement, which offered a Union alternative to the sectionalized major parties. If this convention and the Antimasonic party that started the system in 1831 are included, the Chesapeake metropolis was the host city for twelve nominating bodies in the three decades before the Civil War. Only three other cities, Harrisburg (Whig, 1840), Cincinnati (Democratic, 1856), and Philadelphia (Whig, 1848, Republican and Know Nothing, 1856) kept Baltimore from a complete monopoly of the Presidential nominations of the important national parties.²

¹ This article is based on research the author did in connection with the writing of his *History of Presidential Elections*. He is under deep obligations to the graduate students in his seminars for their assistance in examining the vast amount of materials on national conventions. The account here is largely from contemporary sources.

² The conventions of the radical antislavery parties, 1840-1852, would not have been welcomed in a slave state and attracted slight attention in the northern cities where they met, the 1848 Free Soil gathering at Buffalo possibly excepted. Their principles rather than their choices of candidates were what mattered.



Cartoon, 1848. Litho by H. R. Robinson. *Library of Congress.*

Baltimore's convention hegemony did not depend on attractive monetary bids, the size and utility of a huge convention hall, and hotel accommodations for a mass influx of visitors. The nominating system evolved these requirements much later. The city could offer its location as its one great asset. Its other attractions were incidental. The transportation revolution, which made national gatherings possible, was well under way by 1830, and no other large city was as accessible from all parts of the country. In the east macadamized roads made stage coach travel swifter and easier. The great east-west artery, the National Road, was open from Baltimore to Wheeling on the Ohio River by 1819 and to Columbus by 1833. Steamboats on the Ohio and Mississippi and the lower reaches of the Missouri were breaking down the isolation of the great interior.

A canal building craze, following the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, provided artificial connections between lakes and rivers. More important for the future were the first railroads. The pioneer Baltimore and Ohio which began construction in 1828 pushed westward, in spite of physical and financial difficulties, reaching Wheeling in 1853, and shortening travel



Campaign Ribbon
from National Whig Convention,
May 2, 1844.
Maryland Historical Society.

distances as each section was completed. Baltimore was also an important seaport, and convention delegates from seaboard states found ocean transport available at modest prices.

But location in a political sense was also important. The city was in a border slave state but near enough to the Mason-Dixon line to be regarded as sectionally neutral. Abolitionists would not be present to anger southern visitors nor would the harshest features of the slave system be in evidence to affront those from the free north.

Not the least of Baltimore's location advantages was its nearness to the nation's capital. Before the establishment of permanent national committees Congressional caucuses usually determined the party's national convention sites. Most of the conventions were held when Congress was in session, and the convenience of Baltimore, especially with its early rail connection with Washington, made it the favorite host city for lawmakers and administration officeholders.

The city's facilities for handling conventions were given a good rating in the press. Its taverns and boarding houses could take care of thousands of visitors, and its halls and churches were available for convention sessions and delegate caucuses. If an auditorium became overcrowded, the delegates sometimes moved to a larger hall or a church. Baltimore theaters, oyster cellars, grog shops, and other sources of entertainment compared favorably with what rival Philadelphia could offer.

The first three conventions, 1831-32, met in the Athenaeum, but the Democrats shifted to the roomier Universalist Church for their convention's second session. Simon Cameron offered a resolution that future Democratic conventions assemble in Baltimore on the third Monday in May in the



Francis Preston Blair (1791-1876). Engr. after Thomas Sully. *Library of Congress*

year of Presidential elections. It was later withdrawn, but the Democrats evidently liked the idea of a May convention in the city, for the next five met there and four were in May.

The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for the election of 1836 did not quite conform to Cameron's proposal in one respect. It met on May 20, 1835, almost a year and a half before the election. The convention had been suggested by President Jackson, and its early date served to commit the party to Van Buren as his successor before any rivals could get their candidacies under way.

The *Washington Globe*, the administration organ edited by Francis P. Blair, Sr., stated the case for May conventions: "The month of May is a season of the year when the state of the roads and condition of navigable rivers throughout the whole country render travel most expeditious, safe and comfortable. . . . The public health is, usually, in that season, in its best state in the large city."

Blair, in Baltimore, wrote to Jackson about the prodigious turnout. "Every tavern is full already and the delegates are hunting private houses to put up at."

The convention began its sessions on Wednesday, May 20, in the Fourth Presbyterian Church but moved next day to the more comfortable quarters of a theater. Part of the crowding may have been due to the Maryland state convention's decision to attend as a body, 181 delegates in all. Virginia also was overrepresented with 108 delegates. Van Buren had no opposition for the Presidential nomination but Colonel Richard M. ("Tecumseh") Johnson barely squeezed by for second place on the ticket under the two-thirds vote requirement.

The Whigs did not hold a national convention in 1836 but offered three regional candidates nominated at local conventions, a strategy that was almost successful in November.

Van Buren wanted a second term but the Panic of 1837 and the hard times that followed made the Whigs feel that he could be defeated. They turned down Henry Clay for William Henry Harrison at their Harrisburg convention in December, 1839, and soon were embarked on their famous log cabin, hard cider jamboree.

The dispirited Democrats assembled in Baltimore's Music Hall on May 4, 1840, with five states unrepresented and several underrepresented. To make matters worse a national Whig ratifying gathering of young men was held in the city on this same date with thousands of visiting partisans of Harrison parading in Baltimore streets with log cabin floats and listening to Clay, Webster, and other Whig notables at the Canton Race Track where free hard cider was available for thirsty visitors. The Democrats deplored such antics and their convention duly nominated Van Buren and adopted a platform. The Whigs, without one, used the log cabin ballyhoo for a landslide victory.

Both conventions met in Baltimore in 1844; both were called by the party's caucus in Congress; and both were held in May. The Whigs convened on the first of the month, and the city's twenty-five hotels were jammed with Clay supporters. The unity behind the Sage of Ashland was so complete that all business was disposed of in a session of one day in the Universalist Church. A great ratification meeting next day had Daniel Webster as its chief attraction, keeping the visitors in the city an extra day.



Cartoon, 1844. Library of Congress.

The Democrats came to Baltimore on May 27 to stage the first of the many bitterly contested nominations in the party's history. There would have been no contest if the Van Buren forces had carried out their plan for an early convention in late 1843. But Silas Wright, Van Buren's chief lieutenant, in the interests of harmony, yielded to the preferences of several Democratic state conventions and some members of Congress for the usual May date. This decision defeated Van Buren. President Tyler proposed the annexation of Texas in the spring of 1844, Van Buren declared his opposition, and southern expansionists led by Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi set about to deadlock the national convention.

The delegates met in the Egyptian Saloon of Odd Fellows Hall, North Gay Street, on May 27 in stifling heat and battled for three days before agreement on a ticket was reached. Van Buren could not get a two-thirds majority. The first dark horse, James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was the solution. The newly invented telegraph, with inventor Samuel F. B. Morse at

the keys, let Washington know what had happened. When Silas Wright in the capital city rejected the Vice Presidential nomination, it required several telegrams to convince the delegates in Baltimore that the message from him was correct.

President Tyler's friends also held forth at Calvert's Hall on May 27 and gave him a nomination which he accepted. Later he was persuaded to withdraw in favor of Polk.

The Democrats held to their Baltimore tradition in 1848. A caucus of Democrats in Congress gave the city the honor again although some westerners favored Cincinnati. The convention began its proceedings on May 22 in the old Universalist Church, used by the Whigs in 1844, which could seat some sixteen hundred persons. Delegates were assigned to pews with state labels. Spectators filled galleries and aisles. Telegraph messengers had to battle their way to the press tables. Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan received the Presidential nomination on the fourth ballot. This convention created the first national committee. It consisted of one member from each state and was to manage the campaign.

The weather had been hot, the air of the church was fragrant with "gin-slugs" and tobacco, and Baltimore had been kept lively by the night-long high jinks of celebrants who used songs, libations and heated arguments to prove their fealty to party and candidates—all a part of "the admirable system by which Presidents are made," wrote a sardonic observer. But this convention did not make a President. General Zachary Taylor, nominated by the Whigs at Philadelphia, was the victor.

The grave sectional division over the slavery issue that followed the acquisitions of territory from Mexico in 1848 cut across party lines, and it required a bi-partisan majority to pass Clay's great Compromise of 1850 which ended the immediate danger of disunion. Both major parties were badly mangled and the restoration of unity proved difficult in the conventions of 1852. Baltimore was the scene of two long and bitter struggles for the Presidential nominations.

The Democratic National Committee picked the Maryland metropolis for the party convention, although an Indiana committeeman suggested Cincinnati, a portent of future rivalry. The date, June 1, was the day after Congress was to adjourn. In the hall of the Maryland Institute, seating some five thousand persons, the four leading contenders battled for forty-nine ballots only to lose out to the darkest of dark horses, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, who led the Democrats to victory in November.

A thinly attended Whig Congressional caucus (the Whigs did not have a national committee) met on April 20 and decided to hold the national convention at Baltimore on June 16. With ice water and palm leaf fans helping them endure the oppressive heat in the same hall in which the

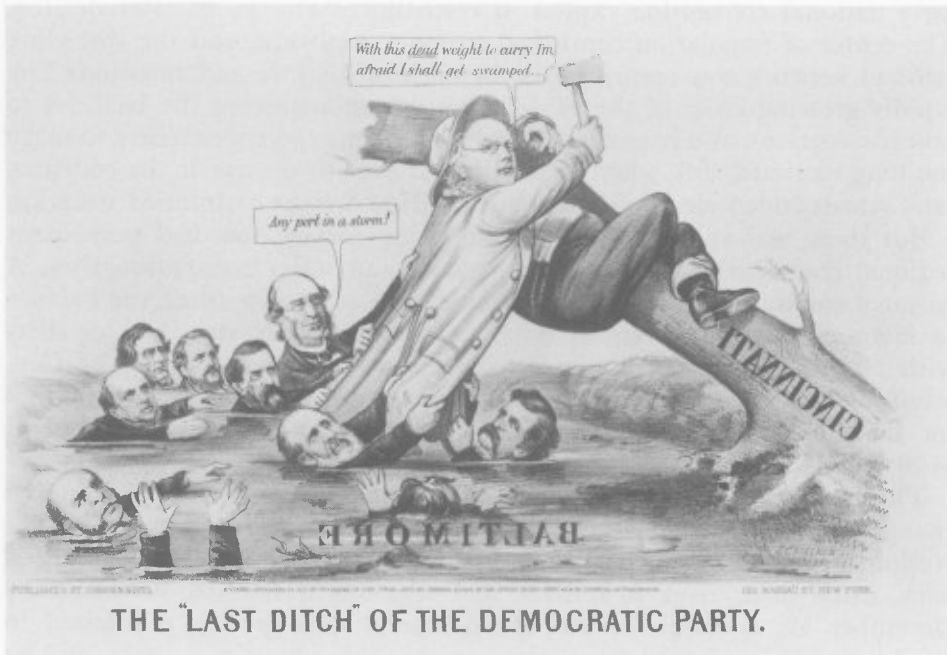


Litho by N. Currier, 1848. *Library of Congress.*

Democrats had discovered Franklin Pierce, the Whig delegates deadlocked for fifty-three ballots before nominating not a dark horse but an old war horse, General Winfield Scott, a leading contender from the beginning. Baltimore was an unlucky city for the Whigs. Scott lost the election as Clay had in 1832 and 1844.

These two conventions marked the virtual end of Baltimore's primacy as a convention city. In 1856, for the first time since nominations by convention began, the city did not entertain the delegates of a major party. In 1860, as mentioned earlier, the Democratic delegates met at Charleston in April, and the majority adjourned to Baltimore only when it proved impossible to nominate after the party disruption. Meanwhile, the Republicans had nominated Abraham Lincoln at Chicago.

The choice of Baltimore for the convention of the new Constitutional Union party, which met there on May 9, was a final recognition of the



Cartoon, Currier & Ives, 1872. *Library of Congress.*

city's long-time neutrality in the sectional conflict. But this gathering of Whig greybeards could not check the forces of disunion.

In 1864 the Union party delegates, largely Republican, came to a none-too-friendly Baltimore to renominate Abraham Lincoln. The Civil War had made the city a place of divided loyalties. Someone, not a Lincoln man, had rented the convention hall for this date, and the delegates met in the cramped quarters of the old Front Street Theater. It took only two days, June 7-8, to nominate Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. The Republicans never returned. Maryland's steady support of Democratic candidates after the Civil War was hardly an inducement although other factors were more important.

The Democrats also deserted Baltimore. They came there for two days in 1872 to go through the unhappy formality of indorsing Horace Greeley, already nominated by the Liberal Republicans to oppose Grant. But forty years went by before they returned to stage a typical Democratic performance which ended in the nomination of Woodrow Wilson. This was a fitting valedictory to the city's contribution to the story of Presidential nominations.

If Baltimore's location had much to do with its preeminence as the

early national convention capital, it contributed also to its later decline. The center of population continued to move westward, and the spreading railroad network was removing the barriers of distance and isolation. The rapidly growing cities of the Middle West were acquiring the facilities to host conventions, and easterners could no longer expect westerners to make the long eastward trek when it was just as easy to reverse it. In addition, each census added electoral votes and political weight to interior America.

But there was another factor. Both major parties now had permanent national committees to direct party affairs and select convention sites. A national committee of one representative from each state tilted the balance in favor of the less populous states. Arkansas and Nevada had equality with New York and Pennsylvania. Baltimore, one-time favorite of Congressional caucuses, was now on the periphery of accessibility and, except for the Democratic convention of 1912, which was won with a bid of \$100,000, chose to let others contend for the prize.

This account may well conclude with two illustrations of Baltimore's changing situation. In 1831 a southern Ohio Clay delegate to the December National Republican convention left home on November 16 and, using hack, canal boat, river steamboat, and stagecoach, reached Baltimore by December 12, although he did spend several days getting politicized in Washington. His elapsed travel time was possibly about two weeks, and he was well located for transportation convenience. Small wonder that states on the more remote frontier were often unrepresented or underrepresented in early Baltimore conventions. In 1860 a Cincinnati newspaper man covered three national conventions in a span of four weeks in places as far apart as Charleston, Baltimore, and Chicago. He traveled by rail.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1860: PRELUDE TO SECESSION

BY BETTY DIX GREEMAN

UNIQUE among national political gatherings, the Democratic Convention of 1860, met twice, first in Charleston, S.C., and six weeks later in Baltimore. The party's inability to harmonize resulted in a dual nomination and the self-inflicted defeat of the party. To understand what happened it is necessary to study the Charleston meeting, the weeks between, as well as the Democracy's final fiasco at Baltimore. "After six days of painful and protracted labor the mountain of Democracy brought forth a Squatter Sovereignty mouse and expired in its travails."¹

In such terms did an Opposition paper report the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas by one wing of the Democratic party in June, 1860. The nomination of Douglas by one faction and of John C. Breckinridge by the other hopelessly divided the Democratic party and practically assured the election of Abraham Lincoln, the candidate of the Republican party. This split in the Democratic party consummated at Baltimore had been present, though less obvious, in the nominating convention at Cincinnati in 1856. At the root of the split was the question of party principle concerning slavery in the territories.

The principle of popular sovereignty adopted in the Cincinnati convention was ambiguous and susceptible of two interpretations: that the people of a territory could *only* decide the slavery question at the time of drafting a state constitution when seeking admission into the Union as a state and must permit slavery's existence during the territorial period; or, that the people of a territory made a *final* decision about slavery at the time of drafting a constitution, but by legislative acts or legislative inactivity *during* the territorial period could make the final decision merely *pro forma*. The pro-slavery Lecompton constitution for Kansas raised the issue for northern Republicans of the admission of more slave states, but for northern Democrats like Douglas, Lecompton raised the issue of acceptance of the *final* decision if achieved by fraudulent means. Douglas successfully opposed Lecompton, which made Southerners suspicious that he would not accept popular sovereignty unless the decision was for a free state. This suspicion was strengthened by Douglas' response to Lincoln

¹ Rome, Georgia *Courier*, July 3, 1860. Opposition is the term given to the Constitutional Union party in the South. The author wishes to express her appreciation to Professor David Meerse of State University College - Fredonia, New York for his valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.



Stephen A. Douglas (1813-1861). *Library of Congress.*

at Freeport, Illinois, during the 1858 senatorial campaign, in which the Little Giant declared that the people of a territory could control slavery by unfriendly local legislation. Thus what Southerners called "popular sovereignty" was pitted against what they called "squatter sovereignty." But until the national convention met to select a candidate, neither view was official party policy. But both the southern and the northern Democrats were determined that their view would be party policy after that convention; in 1860 the ambiguity would be resolved once for all.

In the months before the convention the politicians, journalists and

other interest groups tried to rally support for their points of view and their candidates for the nomination. Amid all the confusion the name of Douglas appeared more often than any other. He was the front runner both in terms of popular appeal and in delegate strength from individual states. Douglas clearly had a majority of the delegates, but almost as clearly he lacked the necessary two-thirds strength needed for the nomination. The implacable opposition of both the Buchanan administration and certain elements of Southern leadership made the prospects for his nomination less than certain. The location of the convention in the center of ultra-Southernism added to the determination by both sides not to compromise. The Southerners planned to use their geographical advantage to its full extent, and the Douglasites were equally determined not to weaken because of such circumstances. The outside pressure at Charleston would be against Douglas and in favor of a platform clearly protecting Southern interests.

As early as the closing months of 1859 newspapers began speculation about the platform and candidate of the Democratic party in the following spring. During the early months of 1860 the convention became the dominant topic in the political columns of virtually every paper in the country. Reporters gathered in Washington and Charleston and wrote detailed reports to their home papers giving facts and figures, rumors and opinions. Yet, as the convention approached, it was clear that the party had not yet crystalized its divisions into two blocs. A week before the convention opened a reporter for the New York *Herald* forecast clearly what the tone of the Charleston gathering would be when he wrote:

Democratic faction has killed everything in the Democratic party except the mechanical movement of party drill. This is going to bring together in National Convention, perhaps for the last time forevermore, the advocate of squatter sovereignty and of strict construction, the ultra pro-slavery men of the South, and those with freesoil proclivities from the North . . . the Buchanan conservatives, the Douglas temporizers, the Hunter exclusives, the Guthrie time-servers, and a host of self worshippers, who look upon the government as something to be administered for their own personal and peculiar benefit.²

How accurate a picture this was of the party members gathering in Charleston became more apparent as the convention got underway. Among the delegates and spectators four factions could be distinguished. The most numerous were those who favored Douglas' nomination with a reaffirmation of the Cincinnati Platform of 1856. This group formed a simple majority of the delegates but could not command the two-thirds vote necessary for the nomination. Furthermore, not every delegate in this

² New York *Herald*, quoted in Augusta, Georgia *Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 17, 1860.

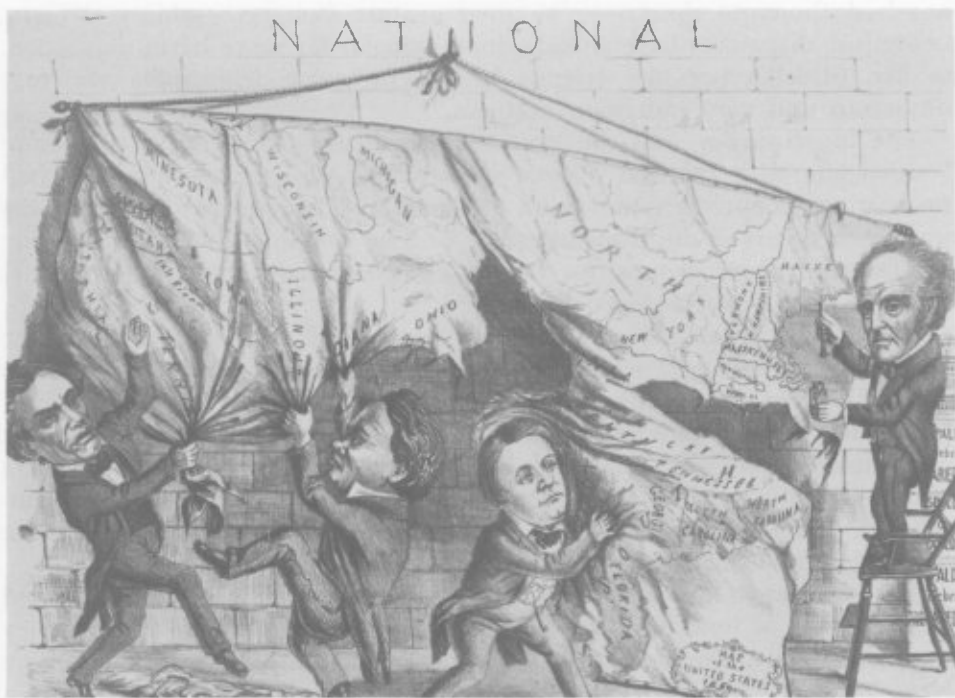


William L. Yancey (1814-1863). Photo by Brady. *Library of Congress*

category was equally devoted to the cause of Douglas. Degrees of devotion ranged from those, like William Richardson of Illinois, Douglas' manager, who would hear of no other nominee though willing to make some concession to the Southern faction on the question of platform, to those who thought Douglas the most available candidate and the only one able to defeat the Republicans, but who might be bought off for another candidate by promises of patronage.³

A second faction was composed of those known as "fire-eaters," a group dedicated to the protection of Southern Rights at all costs, even disunion. This group was led by William L. Yancey, leader of the Alabama delegation, described in Murat Halstead's detailed accounts of the 1860 convention as "the prince of the fire-eaters." On Yancey's arrival in Charleston, Halstead wrote: "The strong point made against him by the Douglasites is that he is a disunionist." But he continued, "It will not frighten him nor his Southern friends, however, to apply that epithet to him. I very much doubt

³ Avery Craven, *Growth of Southern Nationalism* (Baton Rouge, 1953), p. 326; Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (N.Y., 1948), pp. 300-302.



Cartoon. 1860. Library of Congress.

whether the Douglas men have a leader competent to cope with him in the coming fight. . . . The South will have the intellect and the pluck to make its points.”⁴

The third group was less geographical in orientation and consisted of the Administration’s followers who were more interested in defeating Douglas than in a particular candidate or platform. The leader of this group was John Slidell, Senator from Louisiana. Describing Slidell’s arrival, Halstead called him “a matchless wire-worker” and commented that “his appearance here means war to the knife.”⁵ The *Washington Evening Star* denounced rumors that Slidell, along with Senator Jesse Bright of Indiana and W. W. Corcoran, “carried along from one to five

⁴ Murat Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* edited by William Hesseltine, (Baton Rouge, 1960), p. 8. Two other accounts of the convention exist. After the rupture both wings of the party issued *Official Proceedings*. The one referred to in later footnotes of this paper is that of the Douglas wing published in Cleveland, 1860. Hereafter cited as *Proceedings*. For the most part the Halstead version has been used in this paper. It is the only one containing editorializing on events in and out of the convention hall. None of the accounts contains a verbatim transcription of the proceedings and each one contains details not included in either of the other two.

⁵ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 10.

hundred thousand dollars to be used against Douglas," adding, "These lieing [*sic*] dispatches have already done Douglas far more harm than good, as Mr. Slidell's personal friends in the different delegations are very numerous and very indignant at them."⁶

The fourth group was the least well-organized, consisting of moderate Southerners who rejected Yancey's fire-eating philosophy, but also had reservations about the nomination of Douglas. This group, along with the weaker members of the Douglas camp, became the objects of much wooing by the other three groups, for largely on their decisions would the final outcome of the convention depend.⁷

At the opening of the convention a number of candidates were in the field; Douglas was admittedly the strongest. Following him were Senators Robert Hunter of Virginia, James Guthrie of Kentucky, John Dickinson of New York, Joseph Lane of Oregon, and Vice-President John Breckinridge of Kentucky. Jefferson Davis was also considered strong until he sent a letter with Slidell withdrawing his name before the opening of the convention. Douglas' chances hinged partly on the ability of his foes to unite on one of these men.

The chances of the nomination of one of these men was strengthened by the threat of both Southern Ultras and administration forces that they would not have Douglas as the nominee under any circumstances. The New York *Herald* reported that before the opening of the convention "the delegations of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, with portions of those of Illinois and Indiana, are already organized for a revolt in the event of Douglas being nominated."⁸ In response the Douglasites threatened that if the platform were "too hot to hold him [Douglas] . . . then, under instructions, some friend of Mr. Douglas in the Convention will rise and withdraw his name as a candidate. The spokesman for Mr. Douglas having done this, will next take up his hat, walk out, and he will be followed by every follower of the Little Giant."⁹ Summing up public uncertainty of the results of the convention, one reporter wrote, "But in this generation, we are accustomed to strange sights among politicians, and we have made up our mind not to be surprised at anything that happens at Charleston next week."¹⁰

Amid this confusion the convention opened at noon on April 23, a hot, sultry day at Institute Hall in Charleston. On this first day the Douglas

⁶ Charleston dispatch, April 22, in *Washington Evening Star*, April 24, 1860. Though this group had adherents from all parts of the Union, it was most heavily represented by the North-east where the old-line politicians felt threatened by the younger generation from west of the Appalachians. New York and Pennsylvania had particularly divided state party organizations.

⁷ Craven, *Growth of Southern Nationalism*, p. 326.

⁸ New York *Herald*, as quoted in Charleston, S. C., *Mercury*, April 24, 1860.

⁹ Washington dispatch, April 19, in *Savannah Daily Morning News*, April 27, 1860.

¹⁰ *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 20, 1860.

Caleb Cushing (1800-1879).
Engr. by A. H. Ritchie.
Library of Congress.



forces gained a minor victory in the selection of one of their number, T. B. Flourney of Arkansas, as President *pro tem*. But this action was termed, "a tub thrown to the Douglas whale—a bait to keep them quiet while their candidate is being knocked in the head,"¹¹ and was offset on the second day when Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, a Southern sympathizer, was elected permanent chairman. An anti-Douglas newspaper reported, "This selection is a death-blow to Douglas' hopes, if the wishes of a majority of the delegates are any indication of the nominee."¹² Later in the day, however, the Douglas forces won a victory when the convention rules were amended to allow delegates in uninstructed delegations to cast separate votes. This freed about twenty-five Douglas votes and silenced some anti-Douglas votes in instructed delegations. According to one reporter, "This proved the cockatrice egg out of which the death of the party has at length been hatched."¹³

Contrary to usual party practice a motion was passed calling for the adoption of the platform prior to the nomination of the presidential candidate. This motion was sponsored by the ultra Southern group in the hope that they could obtain a platform on which Douglas would refuse to stand. Surprisingly, Douglas' followers voted for the motion and caused it to be adopted. They thought that if a platform unacceptable to the ultras were adopted, some of them, according to their threats, would withdraw from the convention and make Douglas' nomination that much easier.

¹¹ Charleston dispatch, April 23, in *Washington Evening Star*, April 25, 1860.

¹² Des Arc, *Arkansas Citizen*, April 28, 1860.

¹³ *Washington Evening Star*, June 23, 1860; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 31.

It was not until Friday, April 27, the fifth day, that the platform committee finally reported three platforms, a majority report demanding Congressional protection of slavery in the territories, a minority platform of the Douglas faction re-affirming the platform of 1856 with the additional resolution that the party would abide by decisions of the Supreme Court on territorial questions, and a compromise calling for the Cincinnati platform without further change.¹⁴ Friday and Saturday were spent in discussion of the platforms and the proposal of amendments; finally they adjourned to Monday without a vote being taken.

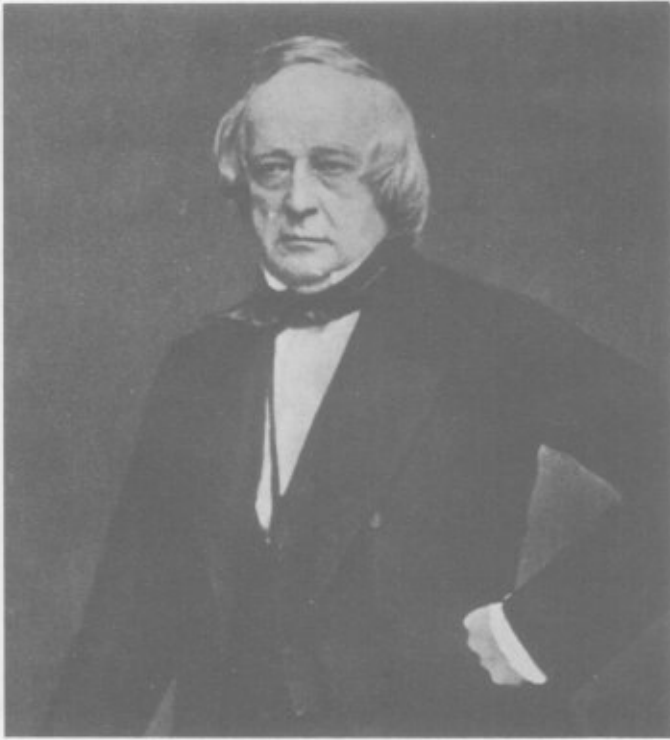
Sunday was officially a day of rest from convention labors, but in reality it was perhaps the busiest day since the beginning. On both sides there was much haggling over positions, promising of offices and favors, and wheedling of delegates who were not solidly in any camp. Slidell was particularly busy bargaining for the support of vacillating Douglas men. At this juncture Halstead retracted the statement he had made earlier that the Southerners had the advantage in brains and tactics. The first week, he now believed, had witnessed far more skill on the part of the Douglas leaders. This advantage was attributed to the charismatic quality of the Little Giant and the inspiration he had stirred in his supporters when they visited him in Washington on their way to Charleston.¹⁵

When the convention resumed on Monday, it was the last day of an even superficially united Democratic party. The minority report of the Douglas faction was adopted by a vote of 165 to 138. The vote reflected the large divisions in the convention. Every deep South state along with California and Oregon voted against it; every northern state voting as a unit voted for the platform; the border states as well as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey divided their votes. These last three states contained many supporters of the Administration. On these states, which were free to divide their vote, many motions depended for passage, and it was these delegates who were the objects of such pressure from the three major factions. Also under considerable pressure were the delegates from New York who, though under the unit rule, claimed to be independent and with their large bloc of votes could decide any question which was closely divided.

The final disruption came when Charles Stuart, a delegate from Michigan, who was suspected of freesoil proclivities, took the floor and made "a very irritating speech, exceedingly ill-timed, unless he intended to drive out the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 46-48. In committee each state had one vote, thus the Administration-Southern coalition had the majority. On the floor, however, each state had the same number of votes as delegates and there the Douglas forces had the majority.

¹⁵ Robert Johannsen, "Douglas at Charleston" in Norman Graebner, ed., *Politics and the Crisis of 1860* (Urbana, Ill., 1961), 84; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, pp. 64-66.



John Slidell (1793-1871). *Library of Congress.*

Gulf States, and he has been accused of entertaining such purpose."¹⁶ He charged the South with asking the Northern delegates to adopt the new plank of Congressional protection of slavery in the territories and thus be forced to deny before their constituents the principle of non-intervention agreed upon in 1856. His remarks caused hostile reaction from Southern delegates, and Yancey rose to defend his state and the South. He denied that they objected to the Cincinnati platform but only to the construction put upon it by Douglas and his followers.¹⁷

The rupture began when a delegate from Alabama, Leroy Walker, read a communication announcing the intention of his delegation to withdraw from the convention in accordance with the instructions received from its state convention. This action was followed by similar ones by delegates of Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas. Representatives of Georgia, Virginia, and Delaware asked for adjournment so that their

¹⁶ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 73.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.



Robert M. T. Hunter (1809-1887). Photo by Brady. *Library of Congress*.

delegations might have time to consult before making such a momentous decision.

The next morning, upon the reconvening of the delegates, the majority of the Georgia delegation withdrew. The pivotal Virginia delegation remained and kept alive the hope that harmony might be restored as it was thought that the South would not unite on any drastic measure without the participation of Virginia. Altogether, about two-thirds of the original convention remained. In this shrunken body the Douglasites got more than they had bargained for which became painfully apparent when the rump convention passed a rule requiring a vote of two-thirds of the original convention for a nomination, or about five-sixths of those remaining. Now Douglas' nomination would be next to impossible to achieve. Both sides had gone too far to retract.¹⁸

In spite of the apparent hopelessness of the task, the convention proceeded to go through the motions of voting for a candidate. On the first ballot

¹⁸ *Proceedings*, pp. 55-71. One delegate from Delaware withdrew; two from Louisiana and three from South Carolina remained.

Douglas got 145½ votes of the necessary 202 votes for a nomination. The other 107½ votes were cast for a variety of candidates with Hunter receiving the largest number.¹⁹ After fifty-seven ballots, none of which showed any sign of producing the necessary two-thirds majority, the delegates agreed to adjourn until June 18 when they would re-convene in Baltimore. The Douglas forces hoped that by that time the Cotton States would elect new delegates favorable to Douglas' cause.

After the initial exhilaration of confounding the Douglas faction by their secession from the convention, the majority of the seceders had second thoughts about their actions and proceeded with caution. Yancey showed his dissatisfaction with the action of the seceders when he wrote to a fellow fire-eater, "Our's [seceder's convention] had timid and perhaps wise men in our councils, who were seriously opposed to a nomination here or even a recommendation . . . our delegation yielded to this fact. . . . But we were unanimous as to the platform and as to the holding another convention at Richmond."²⁰ As days passed, the rump convention failed to extend a conciliatory offer; disillusion replaced enthusiasm; and the adjournment of the regular convention to Baltimore was paralleled by the seceders' agreement to meet in Richmond, June 11.

The whole fiasco was well summed up in a letter of a moderate Southerner when he wrote to his brother, "The Democratic party, instead of being concentrated against the public enemy, presents the spectacle of quarreling about the ownership of the house while the burglars are rifling it."²¹ A similar image was used by a Southern editor writing shortly after the break-up of the convention:

The efforts to defeat Douglas have surpassed anything in political warfare that I have ever witnessed and while they may have succeeded, the movers, in all probability, have pulled down the temple of Democracy with them. As the proceedings of this Convention have shown far more clearly than I had supposed, he is the life and soul of the Democratic party in the free States. . . . Sound policy, good sense, and patriotism seemed to us to demand that the South should take him—at least acquiesce in his nomination. But a majority of the Southern delegations have thought otherwise it seems and if the results are disastrous, upon them rests the fearful responsibility.²²

Many Southerners thought that there was some hope for harmony in the Baltimore meeting, but they differed in their ideas of how this might be achieved. The *Daily True Delta* of New Orleans, in an editorial on the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁰ William L. Yancey to Clement C. Clay, May 4, 1860. Clement C. Clay Manuscripts, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

²¹ Linton Stephens to Alexander H. Stephens, May 1, 1860. Microfilm of Stephens "Convent" manuscripts.

²² Montgomery, Alabama *Confederation*, May 5, 1860.



Maryland Institute. From the Sheet Music Cover of the "Maryland Institute Schottisch," composed by James E. Magruder. *Maryland Historical Society*.

rupture, laid the blame on the Yancey Ultras and the Administration forces, and stated that: "The real cause for the secession was the certainty which confronted the bolters that the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas could not be defeated, nor, if nominated, his election prevented." But it also warned:

These disturbers of the public peace, these conspirators against the integrity of the Republic, these aspiring and plotting demagogues will discover that the people are not the fools or the madmen they take them for, and that they know the true patriot from the impudent pretender and imposter, Stephen A. Douglas from the Slidells, the Yanceys and the lower herd who bay at their heels and decry in impotent ravings his universal popularity with his countrymen.²³

Another New Orleans paper commented that if the Democratic party was so torn by factions it was "unworthy of the confidence of the country." But it concluded that, "the leaders of the Democratic organization might effect this glorious object [national unity]" if they have "enough of intrinsic vigor and strength, enough of self-sacrificing spirit, to throw aside abstractions, bury their personal quarrels, stick to a national platform, and bring forward a national man."²⁴

²³ May 10, 1860, as quoted in Dwight Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), pp. 86, 89.

²⁴ New Orleans *Bee*, May 30, 1860.

Some, however, were still unwilling to acquiesce in the nomination of Douglas in spite of the strength he had had in Charleston. One Mississippi paper went so far as to say that defeat by the Republicans was better "than to succeed with such a man as Stephen A. Douglas and with such principals [*sic*] as he represents." Another editorial concluded that, "To nominate Douglas is at once and in advance to give up the fight." Still another warned that, "If his nomination would have been injudicious upon the assembling of the convention, we fear that it would be fatal now."²⁵

On the other hand, there was still strong support for Douglas from some quarters in the South. The leading Douglas organ in Georgia claimed, "It is useless to deny the fact that the country is in a blaze of enthusiasm for him [Douglas.] The people are in his favor, and only the politicians who want a tool that will subserve their venal and corrupt purposes, are against him. He has refused to bow his head, and surrender his honor and his principle at the bequest of power, and with him in command of the Democratic army, we shall triumph gloriously." A month later, however, even this support had weakened when the same editor wrote, "We yet think that his [Douglas'] true policy would be to throw his influence to some friend." And in answer to his own question as to whether or not Douglas would ever be President, gave this answer. "We doubt it, for Republics are ungrateful; and like Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, he is too great for President."²⁶

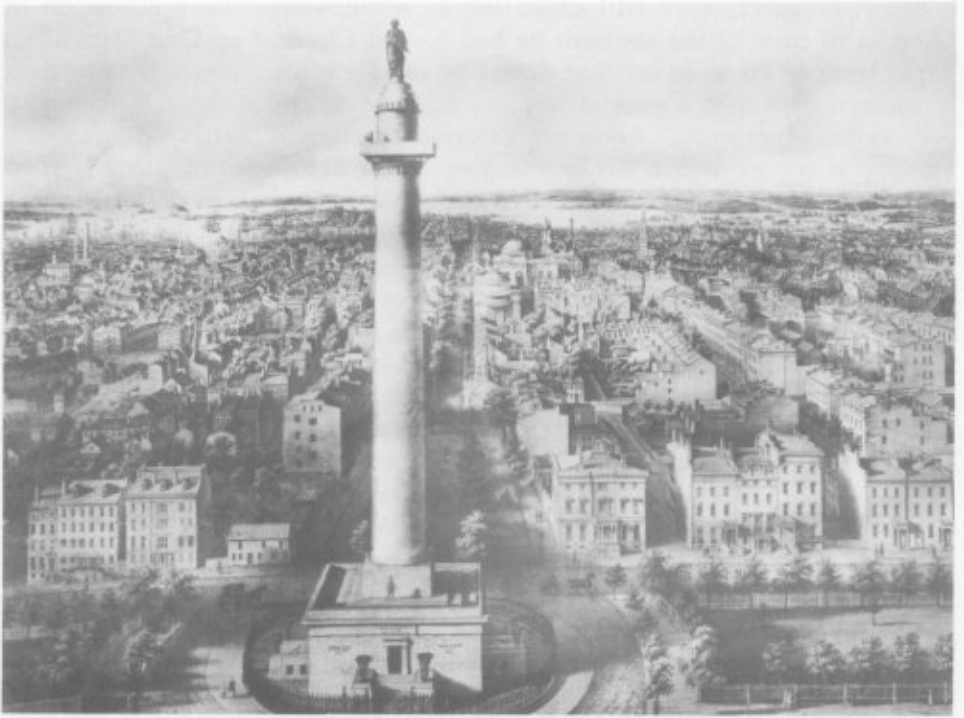
Douglas' mail during the interim was full of encouragement from Southern supporters. A Virginian wrote that, "the Douglas men in the convention will probably have to make some little apparent concession in order to meet the views of the fanatics with whom they will have to contend. All we desire is, to get you the nomination. And in that event we will fear nothing." Support was present even in the strongholds of the fire-eaters. From Atlanta a supporter wrote, "You occupy the middle ground, and truly, and consistently represent the only just and National policy now presented to the people, and hence we think our countries [*sic*] safety in the present crisis, depends upon the use of your name." And from Arkansas came the expression of a sentiment often expressed by the common people among Douglas' supporters. "The people . . . the bone and sinew of the country are at least for you, notwithstanding their misguided leaders."²⁷

Perhaps the most realistic appraisal came from John Duncan, a Douglas supporter and editor of the Atlanta *Intelligencer*. He said that he would speak in "the language and spirit of candour . . . under the impression that

²⁵ Columbus, Mississippi *Democrat*, May 19, 1860 as quoted in Donald Reynolds, *Editors Make War* (Nashville, 1970), p. 45; Louisville *Daily Courier*, May 26, 1860, as quoted in Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, p. 115; Nashville *Union and American*, May 8, 1860.

²⁶ Augusta, Georgia *Daily Constitutionalist*, May 19, June 13, 1860.

²⁷ Thomas Turner to Douglas, June 10, 1860; J. A. Stewart to Douglas, June 11, 1860; J. A. Smith to Douglas, June 16, 1860; D. H. C. Moore to Douglas, June 3, 1860. All in Stephen A. Douglas Manuscripts, University of Chicago Library.



View of Baltimore from Monument Square, Ca. 1850. Drawn from Nature and on Stone by E. Sachse. *Maryland Historical Society*.

I am doing what I *honestly conceive to be* best for you—for our *party* and for the *country*.” He continued, “The public mind had been systematically poisoned against you in Georgia & throughout the South, all the power of the administration has been devoted to this end, & by fanning very shrewdly but very dishonestly the straightout disunion & Southern Rights sentiment . . . they have pulled the wool over the eyes of that class of our people until all of us who will not indorse the Charleston Seceders & Congressional Intervention for Protection are pointed at as ‘Douglas men’ & thereby seem to be regarded as heretics to the South and her interests.” After predicting the further disruption of the party if Douglas be the nominee at Baltimore, Duncan recommended “the nomination of a firm fast friend of yours in the South who would take the wind out of the sails of the Cobb-Yancey & Slidell combination & secure their entire overthrow & bring about the exposure of the game they are playing.”²⁸

Letters of both Southern leaders and administration backers were filled

²⁸ John W. Duncan to Douglas, June 8, 1860. Douglas Mss.



John C. Breckinridge (1821-1875). *Library of Congress.*

with threats, advice and predictions concerning the Baltimore meeting. Slidell wrote a public letter to the Louisiana State Democratic Committee in which he upheld the action of the seceders and recommended that the state send a delegation both to Richmond and to Baltimore.²⁹

But Southerners who hoped for harmony seemed doomed to failure. Some who had witnessed the Charleston sessions were aware of the intransigence underlying the talk of compromise. Thus writing about Slidell, a

²⁹ Letter of John Slidell to Louisiana State Democratic Committee, May 19, 1860. Published in *Washington Evening Star*, May 26, 1860.

Virginian told Hunter that "Slidell got alarmed when he found New York false & regarded the whole as lost. In my opinion he is the father of the Secession. He wanted Virginia to go out. His whole aim was patent to break down Douglas & he would have killed you without scruple to get at Douglas."³⁰

Howell Cobb found himself in both the administration and the fire-eater camps, the first being his usual posture, but the second an uneasy alliance since he had been at loggerheads with the fire-eaters for a decade over questions of state versus national rights. Now expediency dictated that he cooperate with his former foes for the defeat of Douglas. Upon the adjournment at Charleston, Cobb wrote to his brother-in-law, "There is one point upon which I trust Georgia will stand firm and that is under no circumstances to support Douglas." And a little later he speculated on the outcome at Baltimore. "My opinion now is that our friends . . . will be able to defeat Douglas and get both a good man and a sound platform. . . . I believe that the best chance now is to take a northern man—any of them will be acceptable after we get clear of Douglas."³¹

Another Southern senator, Robert Toombs of Georgia, gave a less emotional evaluation of the rupture at Charleston when he wrote to Alexander H. Stephens, a moderate Southerner and friend of Douglas:

The truth is the rivalry and rancor between the friends of Douglas and all the rest was so great and is now so great that I do not see how it can possibly be reconciled without the withdrawal of the combatants on both sides, which I think none of them have patriotism enough to do. . . . The real difficulty at Charleston was that a large number of Democrats North and South had committed themselves so far against Douglas that they were lost if he was nominated, and they therefore preferred ruining the party with themselves than ruining themselves without the party.³²

The one group outside the South which was so important in achieving unity at Baltimore was the New York delegation. The fight against Douglas was particularly strong there because of the power of its large vote to decide almost any motion. Douglas had the support of Tammany Hall and many other politicians, but he had an almost equal number of enemies, supporters of the Buchanan administration or Southern sympathizers. One of these, writing to Buchanan during the interim, declared:

³⁰ Lucius Q. Washington to Robert M. T. Hunter, May 5, 1860. Hunter Manuscripts, University of Virginia, microfilm.

³¹ Howell Cobb to John B. Lamar, May 22, 1860, Howell Cobb Manuscripts, University of Georgia. Jefferson Davis wrote to former President Franklin F. Pierce that the South would not support Douglas and that if he were nominated the nationality of the party would be destroyed. Davis to Pierce, June 13, 1860. Franklin Pierce Manuscripts, II, #7, Library of Congress.

³² Robert Toombs to Alexander H. Stephens, May 5, 1860 in *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb* edited by Ulrich B. Phillips (Washington, D.C., 1913), pp. 468-469.



Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876). Engr. by Alfred Johes. *Library of Congress*.

Mr. Douglas, and his policy of warfare upon your administration are *not* popular here, and never have been: and if those of your Federal officers who are anti-Douglas . . . will take the initiative, . . . it will be as easy to make a powerful manifestation in support of the Administration, and against the course and candidacy of the Illinois disorganizer, as it was for us to sustain your policy in December, 1858, on the Lecompton Constitution. . . . No Tammany, and no Baltimore or other Convention, and no pretense of regularity or usage can compel us to vote for Douglas.³³

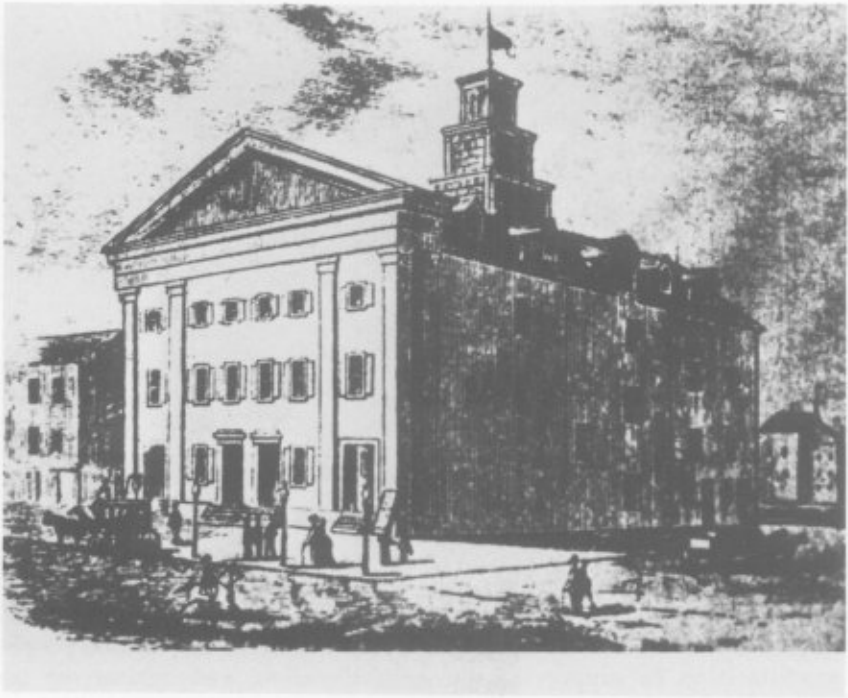
Every faction worked for a declaration of support by New York, but even after the opening of the Baltimore meeting the delegation refused to commit itself publicly to any candidate or program.

As might have been expected the acrimonious feelings engendered by the events at Charleston found their way into the halls of Congress. One newspaper reported that, "The impending rupture at Baltimore exercises the Democratic members of Congress to such an extent that they are hardly disposed to attend to much more legislative business."³⁴

After the disruption of the convention, Jefferson Davis reintroduced his earlier resolutions which demanded Congressional protection for slavery in the territories. Though Davis declared that the purpose of the resolutions was to "speak our sentiments as to the right of persons and property, the obligations and duties of the Constitution," they were seen by many

³³ Gideon Tucker to Buchanan, May 25, 1860. James Buchanan Manuscripts at Pennsylvania Historical Society.

³⁴ *Savannah Daily Morning News*, June 18, 1860.



Front Street Theatre. From *The Monumental City* by George W. Howard.
Maryland Historical Society.

politicians to have as their real purpose "the political effect of killing off the great non-interventionist, Douglas." On May 15 and 16, 1860, Douglas delivered a speech in the Senate on non-interference by Congress with slavery in the territories, during which he was frequently interrupted by Davis. The two exchanged hot words on both political and personal matters. Each accused the other of favoring and causing disunion; each refused to give quarter to his opponent on any point.³⁵

During the interim the Southern Senators and Representatives issued an "Address to the National Democracy," urging the seceded delegates to return to the Baltimore convention to attempt to achieve the platform asked for in Charleston. The letter did not advise compromise, but rather the presentation of a united front at Baltimore to attain the ends denied the South at Charleston. The motive of uniting the opposition was

³⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 1944 (May 7, 1860); Natchez, *Mississippi Free Trader*, June 15, 1860 as quoted in Percy Rainwater, *Mississippi Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1938), p. 116; *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong. 1st Sess. App. p. 313 et seq.

largely accomplished, and almost all of the seceding delegates were determined to appear at Baltimore.

As the re-opening of the convention approached, delegates, politicians, reporters, and hordes of outsiders converged first on Washington, then on Baltimore. Three days before the Baltimore meeting opened the hotels in Washington were turning away guests. Among the prominent men in the capitol Yancey received wide press coverage. He talked both with secessionist leaders and with the Douglas men. On the Friday before the opening of the convention Yancey called on Douglas, and the report was that the conferees "had a good time." The visit set "all sorts of rumors afloat that Yancey was going to run as a candidate for Vice-President with Douglas." Another paper reported that Yancey and Douglas were personally on good terms, but also that, "Mr. Yancey does not expect harmony at Baltimore, nor does any one else."³⁶

Douglas delegates, too, came to the capital to consult with their leader and with each other. A Douglas paper reported that "the reception rooms of Judge Douglas are constantly filled by visitors. The 'latch string hangs outside' of the door, and personal and political friends, as well as political opponents, all visit the 'little giant.'"³⁷ An opposition journal, however, took a different view of the Douglas caucusing. "The Squatters are as boastful as ever, and it is understood that in some manner their chieftain is to run the race—is to have a nomination of some kind."³⁸

The Southern seceders who had assembled in Richmond the week before went to Washington before going to Baltimore. At Richmond they had decided to make no nomination until the outcome of the Baltimore meeting was known. As a matter of fact, all except the Florida delegation had been instructed by state conventions to reclaim their seats in the Baltimore meeting. During the interim, however, several of the Douglas Democrats in the South had appointed new delegations and the seats would be contested by the two groups. This was the first issue to be decided upon the re-convening of the party delegates. The *Charleston Mercury* predicted that if the seceders were not admitted and the bogus delegations excluded, "this act will be the first to create discord, and may, of itself, drive every Southern State out of the Convention."³⁹

On the eve of the convention a Baltimore paper, *American and Commercial Advertiser*, reported that, "a solution of the difficulties . . . appeared . . . to be a shade better. The prominent men of both sides were more inclined to talk calmly over the prospects of the party, and while the

³⁶ *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, June 21, 23, 1860; *Savannah Daily Morning News*, June 18, 1860.

³⁷ *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, June 21, 1860.

³⁸ Washington dispatch, June 15, in *Charleston Mercury*, June 18, 1860.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1860.



Joseph Lane (1801-1881). *Library of Congress.*

firmness of neither section appeared to be in the least shaken, there seemed to be a more lively appreciation of the madness of disunion on the question of candidates." The paper went on to summarize those facts which were regarded as certain:

That the Douglas men have a majority of the whole Convention, and nothing can be done outside of the nomination of candidates without their consent. That Douglas cannot get a two-thirds vote, and can only be nominated, if the South remains in Convention, by the adoption of the majority rule, or if the seceding delegates remain out, by interpreting the two-thirds rule to mean two-thirds of those present and voting.

That Douglas has enough positive strength to prevent the nomination of any other candidate, unless acceptable to his supporters.⁴⁰

By Saturday, June 16, Baltimore was crowded with delegates and with thousands of others. In contrast to Charleston, the outside pressure now was in favor of Douglas, for, as one Southern paper reported, "an immense number of rowdies from this city [Washington], from Philadelphia and New York, with a thousand fighting men from Illinois and Ohio, are expected at the Monumental City."⁴¹ It was predicted by some that the presence of such crowds would promote violence and make rational settlement of differences even more difficult.

Along with the crowds came bands to provide spirited music for each side.

⁴⁰ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860.

⁴¹ *Savannah Daily Morning News*, June 18, 1860.

The Douglas headquarters at the home of Reverdy Johnson and the Southern headquarters at the Gilmor house were across the square from each other, and rival speeches and bands contended for the attention of the crowds. In the words of a local reporter, these crowds, "packed fuel beneath the already boiling cauldron."⁴²

"As at Charleston, every person and passion and prejudice was for or against Mr. Douglas."⁴³ In describing the preconvention discussions one reporter, a Southerner, wrote, "The Douglas men were decidedly the most violent, and whenever any of them could get an anti-Douglas man to enter into discussion, there was sure to be animated, if not angry talk." In describing the Southern delegates, however, he wrote, "They avoided all discussion, but when the name of Douglas was mentioned there was an ominous shake of the head and compression of the lips."⁴⁴

In such spirits the convention assembled on Monday morning, June 18, at the Front Street Theatre. Tickets for outsiders were supposedly free but there were reports that they were sold for between two and five dollars. Extra ventilation as well as lighting arrangements in case of evening sessions had been provided. For the first time in the history of political conventions, the meeting place was connected by means of wires to the central telegraph office so that dispatches could be transmitted over the whole country without delay.⁴⁵

The convention was called to order at 11:10 A.M. by the Chairman, Caleb Cushing. He made a speech summarizing the three major pieces of business before the delegates, namely, to decide upon the question of the seating of the delegates who seceded from the Charleston convention or the contesting delegations from the same states; to finalize the platform of the party; and to nominate a Presidential candidate.

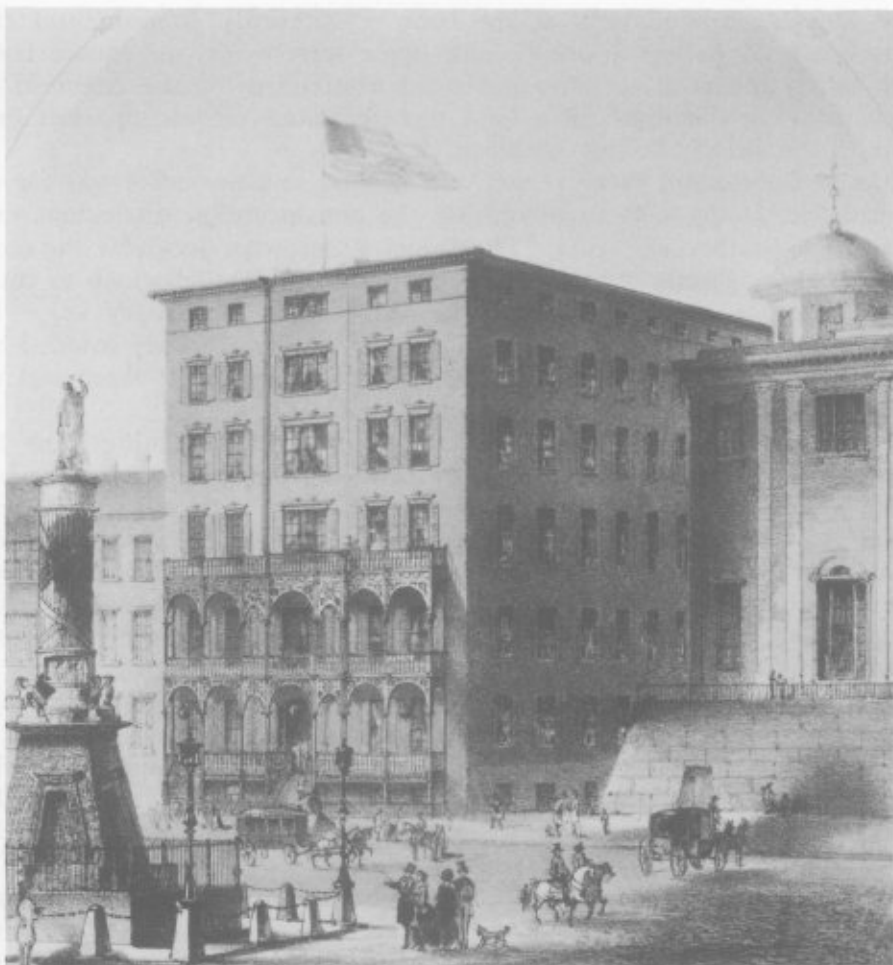
Following Cushing's speech, four different resolutions aimed at settling the admission of seceded delegations were offered, but the one which prompted the most public response asked for the re-admission of the seceded delegates only on condition that they pledge support to the nominee of the convention. This resolution was met with a mixture of applause and hisses from both delegates and the galleries. And when floor discussion finally opened, it centered on this resolution. Delegates from the border states and the few from the deep South who had not seceded favored the admission of all Charleston delegates and argued that asking such a pledge was demanding something not demanded of other convention delegates. Congressman William Montgomery of Pennsylvania, a Douglas supporter,

⁴² *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860.

⁴³ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 186.

⁴⁴ *Savannah Daily Morning News*, June 21, 1860. This fact was also reported in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18 and in *Nashville Union and American*, June 22.

⁴⁵ *Savannah Daily Morning News*, June 25, 1860; *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860.



Gilmor House. From Sheet Music Cover of "Gilmor House Schottisch." Composed by James Magruder. *Maryland Historical Society*.

replied, "There is not a Democrat upon this floor who is not under the most solemn pledges of his honor as a man, and of his integrity as a Democrat, to abide by the nominations that we may make." Again both the delegates and the galleries applauded and hissed and were declared out of order by the president. In Halstead's view this was "the speech of the day. It was considerably more than red hot, and by the time he [Montgomery] had concluded, the political atmosphere was at the temperature it reached in Charleston just before the explosion."⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, pp. 197, 200.

A delegate from Tennessee then made a speech "begging for conciliation—which means, cut the throat of Douglas!" This was followed by a similar appeal to put no obstacles in the way of the return of the seceding delegations. These two efforts were applauded by Southern delegates and supporters. A delegate from Missouri made an inflammatory speech accusing the seceders of coming to Baltimore only to get their own way and if not to go back to Richmond to "put in nomination some man who has neither heels nor bottom enough to get the nomination here, and put him up against the nomination [*sic*] of the Democratic party." This speech was seconded by one given by a Connecticut delegate who declared that the seceders went out of their own choice.⁴⁷

After almost six hours of debate, the first day's proceedings closed. Halstead thought that Douglas' cause had been damaged by the acrimonious tone of his supporters, but the newspaperman noted the enthusiastic meeting held outside the Douglas headquarters for more than three hours that night. The *Washington Evening Star* reported that "three magnificent bands of music, and a large body of outsiders from a distance" gathered each evening outside Douglas' headquarters. But also noted that "the Douglas orators were utterly unable on any occasion to command a crowd half as large as that which thronged 'the Square' in front of Gilmer House." It was further noted that "Baltimore's Democracy, with great unanimity, regard Douglas and Douglasism as traitorous." And the local crowd joined the demonstrations in front of the Gilmer house which lasted even longer and were louder than the Douglas meetings. The crowds shouted over and over for Yancey and on two occasions he appeared and gave extemporaneous speeches.⁴⁸

One young Southerner described the tactics used by some Douglasites during the recesses of the convention. "They play a fancy game, two of them will meet accidentally [*sic*] & commence a conversation one for Douglas one against. They will talk until a crowd collects & then the man talking against Douglas will commence backing down & at last will allow the other to *wool* him completely and winde [*sic*] up by the crowd cheering Douglas—there are men here hired to carry on that game, ain't they getting hard up."⁴⁹

As the days wore on, the violence predicted before the re-opening of the convention became a reality as tempers on both sides flared. A fight between delegates from rival Arkansas delegations erupted on the floor of the committee on credentials when one struck the other in the face and drew a pistol. The pair was separated by friends, and a duel only avoided after a series of notes were exchanged according to the custom of the times. A more

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 203, 205.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 207; *Washington Evening Star*, June 27, 1860.

⁴⁹ John Cobb to John B. Lamar, June 20, 1860. Howell Cobb Mss.

serious quarrel between two rival Delaware delegates began in the same committee room and was supposed finished after others intervened. At five o'clock the next morning, however, one of the combatants went to the other's hotel and attacked him. The ensuing brawl was stopped by the hotel clerk and a passing policeman, and the assailant was taken away. Such incidents were not unique and evidenced the deep animosity between factions.⁵⁰

On the second day the convention met in the morning and agreed to commit the entire matter of the seating of seceded delegates to a committee on Credentials without further instructions. After this decision, the meeting adjourned till five o'clock, to reassemble then only long enough for the president to announce that the committee was not ready to report.

In deciding the fate of the reports of the committee on credentials, the vote of New York was again seen as being pivotal. The Douglas men feared that the support they had formerly received from the Empire State had weakened. This was based on New York's refusal to vote positively on the previous resolution to impose conditions on the seceders before allowing their return. The New Yorkers, however, refused to commit themselves to either side during the time when the committee was meeting, saying only that "their course has been an entirely independent, patriotic, and conservative one, from the moment of their admission at Charleston up to the present time. . . . That they have been ready from the start to throw their entire strength into the scale of harmony upon the platform and candidate questions, whenever their vote will make a harmonious platform and nomination."⁵¹

The third day was a repetition of the second, for the credentials committee was not yet ready to report. The delay permitted the circulation of rumors which only increased the tensions under which all factions labored. The most popular rumor, the *Baltimore Sun* stated, was that the credentials committee report would admit some but not all of the seceders, and that anything less than the admission of all seceders without conditions would lead to a break-up of the whole. As Howell Cobb's son John wrote to his uncle, "The Southern delegates here are perfectly indifferent in regard to the action of the convention in regard to their seats. Most of them are anxious to return to Richmond."⁵²

The ominous direction that the convention was taking was presaged by the collapse of a portion of the flooring under the delegates at the beginning of the fourth day's proceedings. After a recess for the repair of the floor,

⁵⁰ Accounts of both fights were given in *Savannah Daily Morning News*, June 23, 1860 as well as in other papers.

⁵¹ *Washington Evening Star*, June 20, 1860.

⁵² *Baltimore Sun*, June 21, 1860; John Cobb to John B. Lamar, June 20, 1860. Howell Cobb Mss.



James Guthrie (1792-1869). *Library of Congress*.

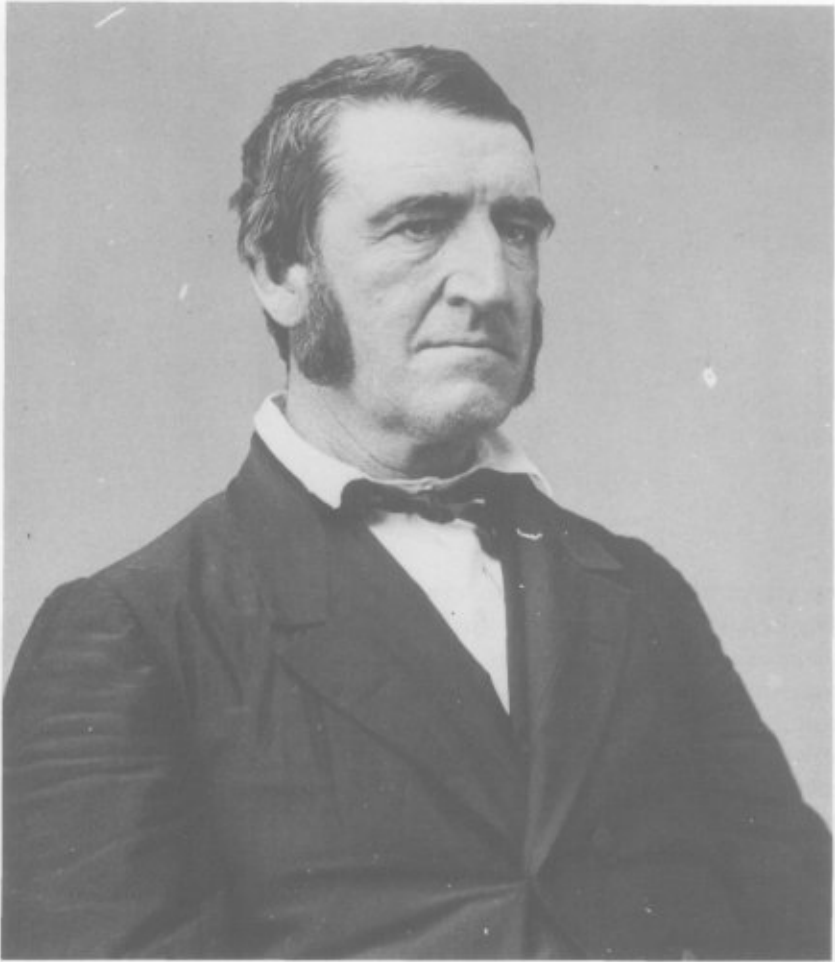
the reports of the committee on credentials were finally presented. The majority report called for the seating of new delegations from Alabama and Louisiana, for the admission of both the old and new delegations from Arkansas and Georgia with the dividing of the vote between them, and for the re-admission of the bolting delegations from Texas, Mississippi, and Delaware whose seats were not contested. Florida and South Carolina were not seeking re-admission. Two minority reports were presented, one calling for the re-admission of all bolters except the Yancey men from Alabama, and the second recommending the re-admission of all bolters. The requests of the New York delegation for time to consult brought the session to an end with no vote having been taken.⁵³

As on every other evening Monument Square was the site of opposing mass meetings which did "much to exasperate the pending controversy. The friends of Douglas denounced the others as disorganizers, bolters, traitors, and disunionists. The Southerners called the Douglasites a sneaking species of Abolitionists."⁵⁴

On June 22, the fifth day of the gathering in Baltimore the votes upon the reports of the committee on credentials were finally taken. The direction in which the question would be decided was evident when, upon a vote to substitute one of the minority reports for the majority report, New York voted nay and made certain the passage of the report favored by the Douglasites. After this victory of Douglas' supporters, the report of the

⁵³ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, pp. 211-220; *Proceedings*, pp. 111-125.

⁵⁴ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 221.



William Alexander Richardson (1811-1875). *Library of Congress.*

majority was voted upon section by section and was passed rather harmoniously until the question of the admission of the new Alabama delegation and the admission of portions of both Georgia delegations were voted on. The yeas prevailed on the former motion, 148½ to 101½, which antagonized the Southern faction. The latter resolution was defeated 106½ yeas, 145 nays. A few minutes later it was moved and agreed upon to admit the regular delegation from Georgia.

Following this, former national party chairman Benjamin Hallett of Massachusetts made a speech begging for harmony and pointing out the futility of adopting measures which were sure to divide the party and

perhaps the Union and reminding the delegates that it would be fruitless to sacrifice unity at the price of having no Union for which to nominate a President:

A nomination which, tendered to any man, is but the ruin of that man, and the ruin of that party which desires it. I stand here today a personal friend of the man whose friends are about to sacrifice him, as I view it. I would rather see him elevated to the Presidency than any other man in this Union, if it could be done without the destruction of this party. . . . But no—men here say, let us have this man or none; we will have no other but him. Where is the discriminating justice which shall impel you to the adjustment of this great question.⁵⁵

But Hallett's pleas fell on deaf ears, for Charles Russell of Virginia rose to announce that when the majority report was finally adopted, Virginia would leave the convention. On this dire note the meeting adjourned until seven that evening. In the interim there were rumors and denials that Douglas had sent a letter to Dean Richmond, chairman of the New York delegation, withdrawing his name from the convention. The rumor was generally not believed, however, since everyone thought that any such letter from Douglas would be written to Richardson, Douglas' manager.⁵⁶

The evening session was hardly underway when Russell again rose and announced the withdrawal of most of the Virginians, saying they would explain their reasons only to the Democracy of Virginia. In quick succession most of the delegates from North Carolina and Tennessee left; the Kentucky delegates retired to consult; half of the Maryland delegation withdrew; all of those from California and Oregon withdrew; Missouri left to consult. On the following morning most of the Kentucky, Missouri and Arkansas delegates left. As a final sign of the utter fracture of the convention, Caleb Cushing, a Massachusetts man but a strong pro-slavery advocate and president of the convention, announced his withdrawal.⁵⁷

After further withdrawals by individual delegates and endless speech-making, the remaining delegates began voting for a nominee. On the first ballot Douglas received 173½ votes to 18 scattered votes for others. After the second ballot when Douglas received 181½ votes, his nomination was declared unanimous. This was followed by more speech-making praising Douglas and promising to support him.

The convention adjourned until evening in order to caucus on the nomination of a Vice-Presidential candidate. In deference to the few

⁵⁵ *Proceedings*, pp. 125-152; quote, Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 229.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231. Later it was confirmed that indeed Douglas had sent letters to Richardson and Richmond but both had refused to use them.

⁵⁷ *Proceedings*, pp. 144-151, 155.

Southerners who had remained in the convention, this choice was left up to them, and they chose Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama who was nominated on the first ballot.⁵⁸

The convention closed after Richardson read the letter which Douglas had sent earlier in the week offering to withdraw his name, if by so doing the party could be saved, but still refusing to give up the principle of non-intervention. Richardson said he had had no opportunity to use the letter as a conciliatory gesture because "those gentlemen who have seceded from this Convention placed it out of my power to use it. And the responsibility, therefore, is on them."⁵⁹

Stuart of Michigan, whom the Southerners had accused of being an abolitionist, proposed adjournment, that they might go where the enemies were and "conquer them in a hand-to-hand fight."⁶⁰ The convention closed with the delegates pledging to carry the fight to their respective states and bring victory to the Democratic party in November. The odds against their success were great, but those who had worked so hard for Douglas' nomination apparently thought themselves equal to any task.

Meanwhile, instead of journeying to Richmond, the seceders had met at Maryland Institute Hall in Baltimore. Halstead remarked on the change in atmosphere from the recent proceedings at the Front Street Theatre. Now all was harmony and good feeling. Typical was his description of Yancey, who "twisted about in his seat with the unrest of intolerable felicity, laid his head first upon one shoulder and then upon the other, and glowed with satisfaction."⁶¹

In a single session the seceders adopted the platform contained in the majority report of the Charleston convention, and nominated John C. Breckinridge for President and Joseph Lane for Vice-President. After appropriate cheering a speech was demanded of Yancey who complied all too well. He spoke so long that hundreds in the audience left. Once he was interrupted on a point of business but failed to take the hint and went on at great length justifying Alabama's position and disclaiming disunionism, though in a manner which was not very convincing. An undesirable result of this speech was that "he was identifying his name, and the ultraism of Alabama too intimately and conspicuously with the movement represented in that hall."⁶² When Yancey had at last finished, the convention adjourned to take the choice between Democratic candidates to the people.

⁵⁸ After the adjournment of the convention Fitzpatrick declined the nomination. The members of the national committee of the party then chose Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for the Vice-Presidential nominee.


⁵⁹ *Proceedings*, pp. 177-180.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁶¹ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, pp. 267-268.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 174-177.

The Constitution, the Union, and the
Equality of the States.



For President,
JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,
OF KENTUCKY.

For Vice-President,
JOSEPH LANE,
OF OREGON.

For Electors of President and Vice-President of the
United States,

F. LOUIS LOWE,
JAMES LLOYD MARTIN,
ELIAS GRISWOLD,
JOHN BROOKE BOYLE,
JOSHUA VANSANT,
T. PARKIN SCOTT,
JOHN RITCHIE,
JAMES S. FRANKLIN,

Breckinridge Ticket,
1860.
Maryland Historical Society.

So ended the formal dismemberment of the Democratic party by its leaders. They were not wise enough to recognize the imminent peril in which their action put the Union, nor unselfish enough to avert such a disaster. How little support their actions had among the general public was well expressed by a journalist writing shortly after the close of the convention:

The era of good feeling has apparently past, and nothing but bitterness and hatred seem now to actuate those who are accredited here as representatives of what once was . . . the great National Democratic party of the country. It is not for us here to allege who is to blame for this condition of things; whether the friends or the opponents of Stephen A. Douglas, should answer this count in the indictment against them. Of one thing, however, we are assured, viz: that the people are not creating the disturbances which now present so threatening an aspect. It is the politicians of the country, that are thus dividing and distracting us.⁶³

⁶³ Charlestown, Virginia *Spirit of Jefferson*, June 28, 1860. Clipping found in Jesse Turner Scrapbook on Election of 1860 in Duke University Manuscript Collection.

THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY

BY DONALD WALTER CURL

THE problem in organizing the Thirty-sixth Congress, the growing strength of the Republican party, the reaction to John Brown's raid, and finally the split between Douglas and Buchanan Democrats over Kansas convinced many conservatives that a new political party eschewing extremism not only had a chance of electoral success, but was necessary to prevent complete polarization between North and South. The leadership in this movement was almost without exception made up of conservative Whigs, who while in basic agreement with the Republican economic program, were unable to support its stand on slavery in the territories. Many of these men had supported Millard Fillmore and the American party in 1856, though they had often claimed exemption from the anti-foreign and religious bigotry of the party, saying instead that by ignoring the slavery issue the party offered the only hope of uniting North and South.

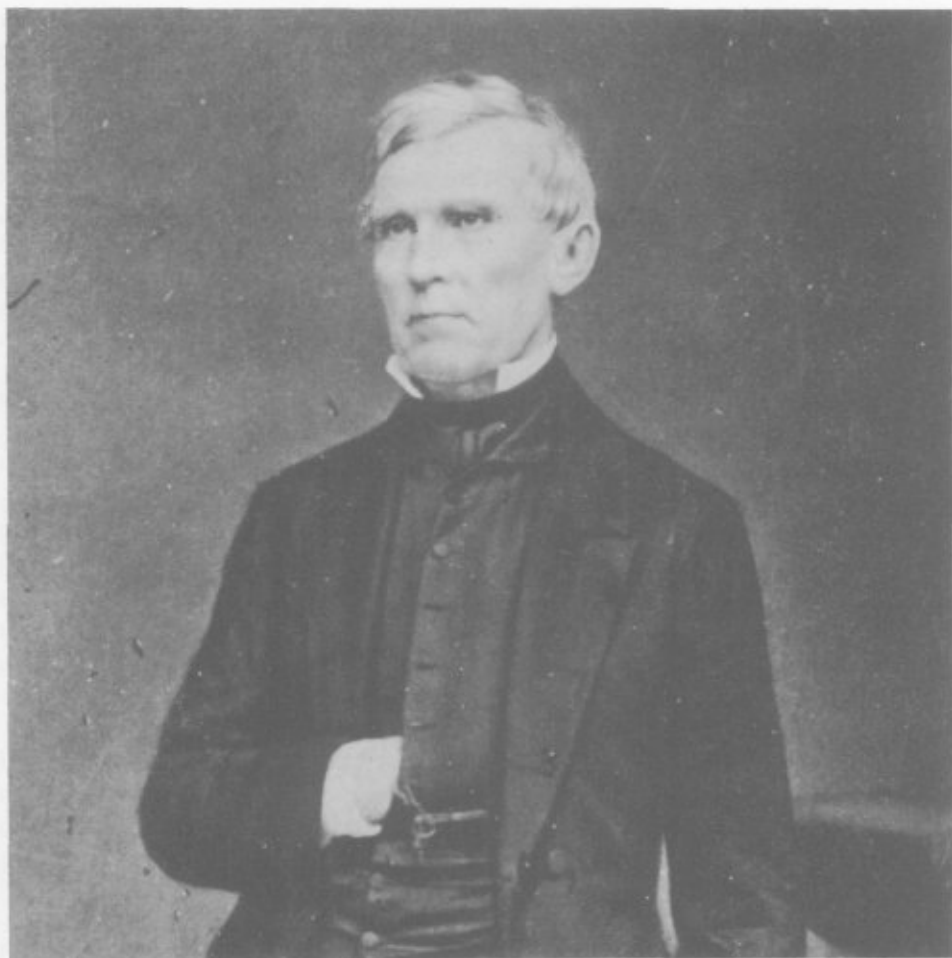
In the forefront of the movement to organize a new party was Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, the acknowledged successor of Henry Clay. He had become convinced that neither the Republican nor Democratic parties could "heal the gaping sectional wounds brought on by the slavery issue," and that the national Union was thus in peril. If secession was to be prevented, he saw a new national party as the only answer.¹

Mass meetings were held in several states during this period urging the formation of a new party. One organized by Massachusetts's Cotton Whigs in Boston's Faneuil Hall pledged themselves to maintain an unchangeable Union and amicable relations between all peoples of the United States. A dinner for 378 guests was hosted by Americans and Whigs at the Philadelphia Academy of Music which included Crittenden as an honored guest. A Knoxville mass meeting adopted resolutions declaring it knew "no North, no South, no East, no West, but one common country, whose integrity the Constitution alone secures. . . ."²

In December 1859 Crittenden called a meeting of the fifty members of

¹ Albert D. Kirwan, *John J. Crittenden: The Struggle for the Union* (Lexington, Ky., 1962), p. 347; see also Theodore Clark Smith, *Parties and Slavery, 1850-1859* (New York, 1906), p. 265; R. McKinley Ormsby, *A History of the Whig Party* (Boston, 1859), pp. 358-364; W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1950), p. 289.

² Thomas O'Connor, *Lords of the Loom: The Cotton Whigs and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1968), p. 137; Joseph Howard Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge, 1950), p. 346; William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence* (Boston, 1899), p. 134.



John J. Crittenden (1787-1863). *Library of Congress.*

the opposition in Congress—those Senators and Congressmen not affiliated with either the Republican or Democratic parties—which resulted in the formation of a committee to work with the Whig and American National committees for the purpose of forming a new organization whose platform would be “the Union and the Constitution.” Crittenden was named chairman of the committee of ten appointed by the American party to act for it. Within five days the conservative opposition had been organized, and by the middle of January the Constitutional Union party was founded. It stood, according to Crittenden, in “that *middle-ground and temperate* region, where all who are opposed to both Democrats and Republicans

might freely and properly meet. . . . From that position they might defend the country against the madness of those parties, their sectionalism, secession and disunion tendencies."³

An appeal "to the People of the United States," written by John Pendleton Kennedy of Baltimore, Erastus Brooks of New York and Crittenden, was issued on February 22, 1860. The twenty-one signers, who included William Rives, Francis Granger, William A. Graham, Washington Hunt, and William G. Brownlow, maintained that the Democratic and Republican parties could no longer be trusted with the management of public affairs and called for the establishment of a new party whose cardinal principles would be "the removal of the slavery question from party politics, development of national resources, maintenance of honorable peace with all nations, strict enforcement of the laws and the powers of the Constitution, and respect for state rights and reverence for the Union." They urged all the states to send delegates to a national convention to be held in Baltimore.⁴

Ratification meetings and state conventions were quickly held in many states, some, such as Tennessee and Kentucky, on the same day the appeal was issued. Many of these meetings endorsed candidates to be presented at Baltimore. The Maryland convention was held on 19 April. Two sets of delegates arrived from Baltimore and threatened to disrupt the harmony of the meeting, but a resolution was passed declaring "we are not here as Whigs or Americans, but as persons loving the Union." Both sets of delegates were then seated.⁵

Without question, Crittenden was the party favorite for the Presidential nomination. As the leader who had become most closely associated with the formation of the party many believed his talents and national reputation necessary to insure the party's unity and success. Crittenden very quickly advised his friends that he was not a candidate and declared that he would not accept the nomination if it were offered. Now in his seventies, Crittenden said he was looking forward to the end of his term in the Senate and to a peaceful retirement.

Several party leaders seemed to feel that the nomination of a conservative Republican who had been a Whig might produce a union of the two parties. Crittenden appears to have contacted Abraham Lincoln, who said he was not interested, and others sounded out Edward Bates of Missouri. Bates was interested, but since he believed he was the front running compromise candidate for the Republican nomination, he thought the Unionists would nominate him only if they were convinced of his victory at Chicago

³ Kirwan, *John J. Crittenden*, p. 349; Arthur C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), p. 337.

⁴ Parks, *John Bell*, pp. 348-349.

⁵ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 20, 1860. Hereafter cited as *Baltimore American*.

John P. Kennedy
(1795-1870).
Library of Congress.



and his election "without their help."⁶ When Bates announced his adherence to the Republican program on slavery, he was no longer considered as a possible Union nominee. Justice John McLean was also considered as a candidate who could possibly unite the party with conservative Republicans.⁷

The front-runner among the candidates was John Bell of Tennessee. A well-to-do lawyer, slave owner and iron maker he had been a Whig congressman from 1827-1841, serving as Speaker in 1834, had acted briefly as Secretary of War in 1841, and then had been elected to the Senate for two terms between 1847-1859. As a Senator he had opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. As a border state conservative who had demonstrated his love of the Union, he had support from many states, both North and South.

Sam Houston was termed the most "available" of candidates as he was the best known nationally of the contenders. He was enthusiastically supported by Texas Union men who recommended him to the country as the "people's candidate for the presidency." He was also the choice of twenty-seven of the thirty-four delegates chosen from New York.⁸

Edward Everett was the favorite son of Massachusetts and did have some

⁶ Howard Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), p. 118.

⁷ Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Life of John McLean* (Columbus, 1937), pp. 211-213; Coles, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 335; Marvin R. Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates of Missouri* (Columbia, 1965).

⁸ *New York Times*, May 9, 1860; Kirwin, *John J. Crittenden*, p. 350; Parks, *John Bell*, pp. 351-352.

support in the South, but he later claimed he "took effective measures to prevent a nomination."⁹

John Minor Botts and William C. Rives of Virginia were also mentioned as possible candidates and had early support among some delegates. Botts said he was not seeking any "official station whatever [nor] office of any kind or degree."¹⁰ The *New York Times* reported that a Botts meeting had been scheduled for the night before the convention opened "but for some reason it did not take place."¹¹ William A. Graham, a former Whig Senator, Governor of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy under Fillmore, and Winfield Scott's running mate in 1852, had support from his home state and Georgia. Scott himself also let it be known that he had some desire to be considered, but no one took his candidacy seriously.

The collapse of the Democratic party at Charleston had made it less likely that the Republicans would consent to a conservative compromise candidate named by the Constitutional Union party. Thus on the eve of the convention at Baltimore it was obvious that the only two contenders with wide-spread support were John Bell and Sam Houston.

A mass meeting of the Baltimore Constitutional Union party at Carroll Hall and Monument Square in early April had appointed three committees to prepare for the national convention. A committee on arrangements was charged with making all the necessary provisions for the housing of the convention and the accommodation of the delegates. A committee on reception to welcome the party members and one on finance to make provisions for all expenses incurred during the meeting were also appointed.¹² By all accounts these committees did their job well.

The night before the convention was to convene the streets were thronged with delegates, guests, and newspaper reporters. The Eutaw House and Barnum's Hotel housed most of the delegates with Houston headquarters in the first and Bell and his supporters in the latter. Crittenden was a guest in the home of Senator Anthony Kennedy.¹³ The headquarters of the state delegations were also said to be crowded as the partisans of the various candidates canvassed for votes. Virginia and North Carolina delegates were reported to have been particularly active in appealing for the nomination of an old time Whig. Bell later expressed his appreciation to both Alexander Robinson Boteler of the Virginia delegation and Crittenden for the work they did for his cause after they arrived in Baltimore."¹⁴

⁹ Edward Everett to Anna Ella Carroll, May 29, 1860, Anna Ella Carroll Papers, MS. 1224, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁰ John M. Botts to Anna Ella Carroll, Dec. 29, 1859, Carroll Papers; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, pp. 334-335.

¹¹ *New York Times*, May 9, 1860.

¹² David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1960), p. 352; *Baltimore American*, April 13, 1860.

¹³ *New York Times*, May 10, 1860.

¹⁴ Parks, *John Bell*, p. 354.



Sam Houston
(1793-1863).
Engr. by W. J. Edwards.
Library of Congress.

When the delegates awakened on the morning of 9 May 1860, they found the day gloomy with intermittent showers. At ten o'clock the National Committee and the National Executive Committee of the Constitutional Union party met with the National Committees of the Whig and American parties in the main saloon of the Temperance Temple. Around one hundred members of the four bodies were in attendance. Crittenden chaired the combined committees as chairman of the Constitutional Union Executive Committee. Erastus Brooks moved that Crittenden should call the convention to order and then name former Governor Washington Hunt of New York as the temporary chairman. The combined committees resolved to meet every morning one hour previous to the convention. They then adjourned to the hall for the opening of the first session of the convention.¹⁵

The convention met in the old First Presbyterian church building at the corner of Fayette and North Streets. The old church, which had been the scene of the nomination of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency, had recently been purchased by the government as a site for a federal courthouse. The committee on arrangements had secured the permission of the Secretary of the Interior for its use. The church had galleries on three sides and these were festooned with red, white and blue bunting. The west gallery was exclusively reserved "for the ladies, of whom there was a fair attendance." Behind the President's chair there was a full-length portrait of Washington, surmounted by an American eagle, and bordered by two

¹⁵ *Baltimore American*, May 10, 1860.

great American flags. The walls, above and below the galleries were decorated with additional flags. According to one reporter, the whole appearance was as "patriotic as the [New York] *Times* office on Washington's birthday."¹⁶

By eleven o'clock the galleries were "densely packed" with spectators. When the delegates began to take their seats at eleven-thirty those in attendance greeted their favorites with loud applause. Crittenden's appearance on the floor drew great applause and "one round of deafening cheers following another."¹⁷

Twenty-two states were ultimately represented in the hall. South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, California and Oregon sent no delegates and Wisconsin's one representative refused to participate in the proceedings, feeling that he had not been properly authorized by the state party. Some of the delegates did not arrive for the first day's session. One group of twenty was delayed due to an accident on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Before the Convention ended, approximately 400 delegates had taken their seats on the floor.¹⁸

The convention was called to order by John Crittenden a few minutes after twelve noon. The opening prayer, delivered by the Reverend James D. McCabe, Rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church of Baltimore, set the tone for the entire proceedings:

. . . May they by their grace, tend to hush the discords of sectional strife, and to save our country from the vortex of *anarchy* which has engulfed all former Republics.

. . . rebuke every spirit that would attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various party . . . may a flame of pure and devoted patriotism be shed forth upon the whole American heart, that knows no North, no South, no East, no West, but our country, a glorious whole, one and indivisible, the solemn utterance of which, shall be the Constitution, it must be preserved. . . .¹⁹

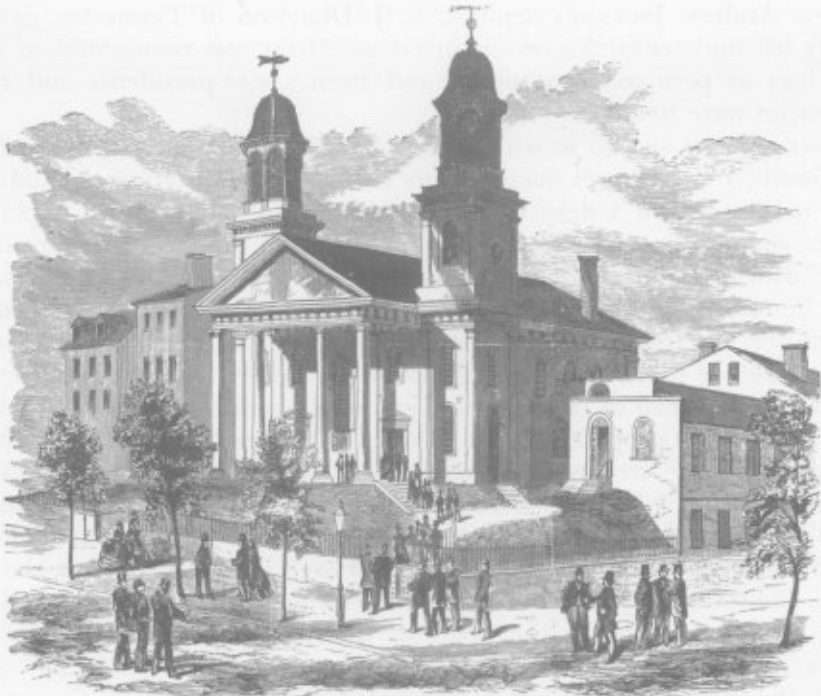
Crittenden then nominated Washington Hunt as temporary chairman, and Mayor Thomas Swann of Baltimore nominated William T. Switzer of

¹⁶ Murat Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge, 1960), p. 122. Halstead, the young editor of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, was the only reporter to be present at all the conventions of 1860. His coverage of the conventions was first carried in the *Commercial* and later was reprinted in Murat Halstead, *the Caucuses of 1860* (Columbus, 1860). I have quoted from the centennial reprint as it is the edition most easily available. See also John Burgess Stabler, "A History of the Constitutional Union Party: A Tragic Failure" (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1954), p. 446; *New York Times*, May 10, 1860.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; *Baltimore American*, May 10, 1860.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*



THE OLD FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WHERE THE UNION CONVENTION WAS HELD AT BALTIMORE, AND CROWNED BY OUR ARTIST.

First Presbyterian Church. Woodcut from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1859.
Maryland Historical Society.

Missouri as temporary secretary. Hunt re-enforced the aim of the convention in his brief talk, declaring "we have come on a mission of peace, to strengthen the chains of union and to revive the spirit of national affection in the land. . . ."²⁰ This speech was interrupted by loud applause after nearly every sentence leading Murat Halstead, of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, to report that the delegates were worse than an "Irish audience at an archbishop's lecture."²¹ At the conclusion of the talk a committee on organization was named consisting of one delegate from each state present to nominate permanent officers for the convention. To give this committee time to complete its work, the meeting was adjourned until four o'clock in the afternoon.²²

When the convention reassembled, the crowds were so large that some visitors were unable to gain admittance to the galleries. Many stood outside in the rain, watching the proceedings through the long windows of the old

²⁰ *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, May 10, 1860.

²¹ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 123.

²² *Baltimore American*, May 10, 1860.

church. Andrew Jackson's nephew, A. J. Donelson of Tennessee, gave the report for the committee on organization. Hunt was nominated to retain the chair as permanent president and twenty vice-presidents and twelve secretaries were named.²³

After another speech in which Hunt called for harmony between North and South, a motion was made to proceed to the nomination of candidates. This motion set off a debate between those who believed that a platform was of greater importance than candidates and those who believed that no platform at all should be written. A group of Bell's supporters from Pennsylvania thought that an immediate roll call would stampede the convention for their candidate before the Houston forces were organized. In fact, before the Texas delegation had arrived.²⁴ When the harmony of the meeting seemed to be in jeopardy, Leslie Coombs of Kentucky restored good feelings by proposing three platforms; one each for the "harmonious Democracy," the "irrepressible conflict gentlemen," and "those now before and around me." For the Democrats he proposed a platform to include the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-99 without comment and two planks on slavery. The first in favor of excluding slavery from the territories, the second in favor of forcing slaves into them. "Both to be adopted unanimously . . . under the previous question, and no questions asked afterward."

For the Republicans Coombs suggested the blue laws of Connecticut, though modified slightly on two points. "First in reference to the right of a man to kiss his wife on Sunday, and second in reference to burning witches, providing that the young wife shall have the privilege to be kissed and the old witches to be burned."

For the Constitutional Union party he suggested just one sentence, "the Constitution as it is, and the Union under it now and forever." During his speech the Texas delegation arrived in the hall led by A.B. Norton, who had a beard down to his waist. Coombs explained that Norton had vowed fifteen years earlier not to cut his beard until Henry Clay was elected President. At the end of Coombs' talk the convention rose and gave him three cheers.²⁵

Thomas Swann said that the distinguished men who appeared on the convention platform were platform enough for the State of Maryland. "Show us the man and we will tell you his platform . . . we should repudiate all platforms but the Constitution." To resolve the debate Erastus Brooks suggested that a committee on Resolutions and Business be appointed "to consider all propositions for a platform." All other resolutions were with-

²³ Stabler, "Constitutional Union Party," pp. 447-448.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

²⁵ *Baltimore American*, May 10, 1860.

drawn and the motion to form a committee was passed. Each state then named one member of the delegation to the committee and the convention adjourned until ten on the following morning.²⁶

After dinner the committee on Resolutions and Business met at the Eutaw House. Joseph R. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania was chosen chairman and a resolution was passed which declared that since platforms were only calculated to deceive the people, the Constitutional Union party would only pledge to support the Constitution and enforce the laws. Erastus Brooks supported the resolution pronouncing the people of the country "heart-sick" and "head-sick" of party platforms.

While everyone agreed that the proceedings of the committee were marked by great harmony, the second resolution produced debate both in the committee and later on the convention floor. It was resolved that in voting for nominees for President and Vice-President that each state delegation should decide for itself the mode in which its vote should be cast.²⁷

The committee made no mention of the question of slavery. In fact, it was rumored that any delegate who mentioned slavery or the Negro on the convention floor would be ejected from the meeting. According to a reporter for the *New York Herald*, "The delegates may sleep with the nigger, eat with the nigger, but don't allow his woolly head to come into the convention."²⁸

When the convention convened on May 10, 1860, the Reverend Doctor McCabe once more invoked a "fervent prayer for the Union." Halstead praised the minister for not taking the prayers at the Democratic Convention at Charleston as a model by calling for party success at the polls, but said, "the Union being prayed for, however, it was inferred . . . the preservation of the Union included an invocation for the success of the Convention's nominees. . . ."²⁹

The first order of business was the report of Ingersoll of the Business Committee. For the party's platform he reported:

Whereas, experience has demonstrated that platform adopted by the partisan Conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles, other than

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 152.

²⁷ *Baltimore American*, May 10, 1860.

²⁸ Parks, *John Bell*, pp. 352-353.

²⁹ *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860.



John Bell (1797-1869) . *Library of Congress.*

THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND
THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS;

and that, as the representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country in National Convention assembled, we here pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, those great principles of public liberty and national safety, against all enemies, at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, and the just rights of the people, and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity and equality, which, under the example and constitu-

tion of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain "a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

This "declaration of principles" was given nine cheers by the convention and then passed unanimously.

The resolution detailing voting methods for nominees for President and Vice-President engendered the first serious debates in the convention. Several delegates believed the committee had attempted to give majorities in state delegations the power to coerce minorities out of their voting rights. A great deal of confusion followed and substitute resolutions followed one after another until William Goggin of Virginia proposed a compromise which called for state chairmen to cast the votes of each delegate. In cases where a full delegation was not present, majority rule was to determine the vote of unrepresented districts, and in cases where two delegates represented a single district, half votes were authorized.

This compromise was immediately accepted by the convention and at half past eleven the nominations of candidates for the Presidency began. During the roll call of the states the Maryland delegation was forced to withdraw, because, according to Halstead, it could not get the sense of the Goggin resolution "through its head without a surgical operation." The only delegate from Minnesota declared that he was elected as a substitute and did not feel he should represent the state. Halstead thought "The voice of the Convention overcame his modesty," though he did not cast Minnesota's vote on the Presidential ballots.³⁰

Before the convention opened many reporters believed that Sam Houston had the edge in the race for the nomination. Informal polls showed many delegations supporting Texas' favorite son, including that of New York. This was explained by a Georgia delegate who, displaying his Whig background, proclaimed that "Clay lost, but Taylor won, so nominate military men."³¹ As the delegates took their seats they found circulars and hand bills supporting Houston for President and Everett for Vice-President had been liberally spread throughout the hall. Yet the *Times'* reporter felt that the "current" was running strongly against Houston by this time.³² Actually Houston probably had little hope for success at Baltimore. As a Southern Democrat he could not believe he would receive much support from Southern Whigs. Moreover, in the 1859 election in Texas he had alienated many American party members by saying he had no nativist leanings.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 131; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, pp. 337-338; George H. Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854-1966*, (New York, 1967), p. 66.

³¹ *New York Times*, May 11, 1860; *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860.

³² *New York Times*, May 11, 1860.



Edward Everett (1794-1865). Engr. by John Sartain. *Library of Congress.*

Northern Whigs and Americans expected to gain support for their cause from conservative Republicans so they had little enthusiasm for a Democrat from the deep South. Thus even before the balloting, Bell, as an old time Whig who had never spoken out against the American party, seemed like the only serious candidate who could rally the many diverse elements of the Constitutional Union party.³³

When the voting began it was obvious that Bell's supporters had succeeded in making their candidate popular with the throng, and each time his name was mentioned it produced prolonged cheers, though the mention of Crittenden, Everett, and Houston was also well received by the convention.

Kentucky cast her twelve votes for Crittenden, though "again and again [he] refused to be considered as a candidate," because of instructions from the state convention. Georgia, Missouri, and Ohio all announced that Crittenden was their first choice, and only because he had refused to be

³³ Stabler, "Constitutional Union Party," pp. 453-454.

considered were they voting for other men.³⁴ To stem what seemed to be the growing support for Bell, Texas' "hairy delegate" gave an impassioned plea for Houston mentioning the battle of San Jacinto and stressing the "SAM" part of his name, but according to Halstead, "it did not take wonderfully."³⁵

Most of the delegates to the convention had not been instructed by state conventions to vote for a particular nominee, though the Tennessee, Ohio, and Arkansas delegates were to support Bell, either entirely or in part, and several other states, such as Kentucky, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Missouri, told their delegates to support favorite sons.³⁶

On the first ballot 254 votes were cast. Of these Bell received 68½, Houston 57, Crittenden 28, Everett 25, William Graham of North Carolina 22, Justice John McLean 21, William C. Rives of Virginia 13, John M. Botts of Virginia 9½, William L. Sharkey of Mississippi 7, and William Goggin 3. Of all the candidates, only Bell and Houston had support from all sections of the country. Since 128 votes were necessary for a choice, the roll call on the second ballot started immediately.³⁷

As the states were polled on the second ballot the politicking continued. James W. Gerard of New York, after a speech which invoked Washington, the American Eagle, and the Washington and Battle monuments, appealed on behalf of the "Dutch and Irish of New York" for the convention to nominate Houston as a "Southern Democrat to sweep up the votes." Instead of digging up Whig fossils, the party should choose "a living man for whom we can raise a battle cry which will spread like lightning through the land." He was answered by N.G. Pendleton of Ohio who claimed that his state wanted a Southern Whig, an obvious reference to Bell. He then cast eighteen of the states twenty-three votes for the Tennessean. The leader of the Pennsylvania delegation declared that his state was not interested in either a Democrat or a Whig but in a "Man who could save the Union."

When the roll call reached Virginia, Bell lacked only three votes of a majority. The excitement was intense throughout the hall when the Chairman of that delegation asked for a few moments for consultation before he announced the state's vote. The silence that hung over the convention was broken by a roar of cheers and a violent stamping when it was announced that Virginia cast two votes for Botts and thirteen for John Bell.

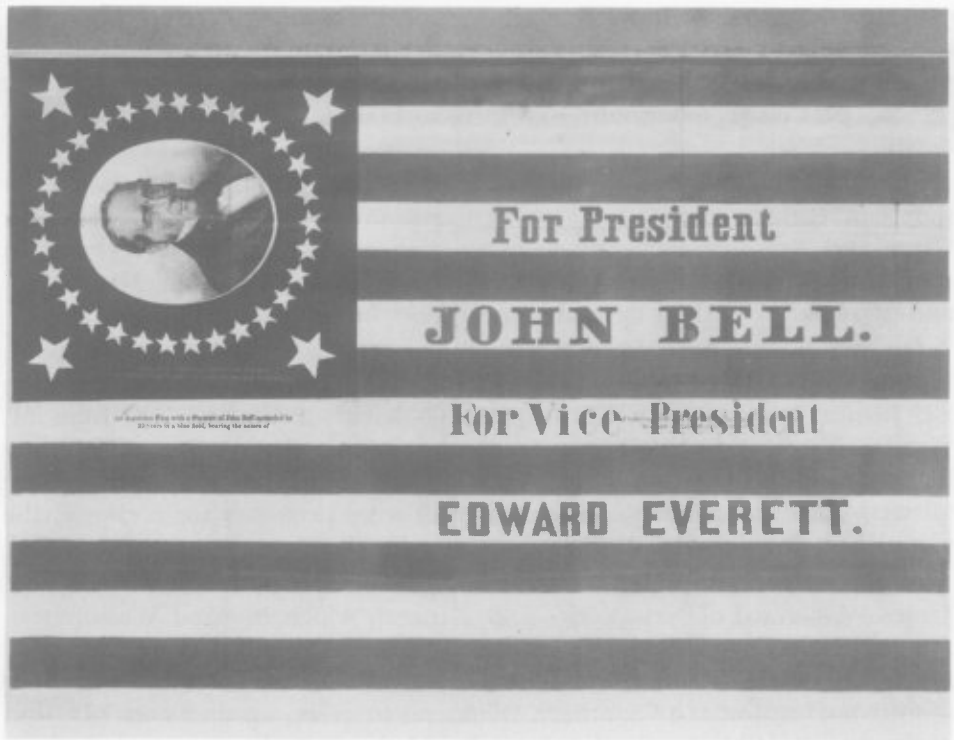
Immediately votes from New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, and Georgia were changed to Bell as was Coleman Yellott's one half vote from the Maryland delegation. In the

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 457-458.

³⁵ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 132.

³⁶ Stabler, "Constitutional Union Party," p. 458.

³⁷ *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, pp. 132-133.



Bell Campaign Poster, 1860. *Library of Congress.*

speeches that accompanied the vote changes many attempts were made to make puns on the name of the nominee. One delegate called him "the Great Bell that was to toll the knell of the Democratic party" while another said the convention had furnished "the bell-metal necessary for the enormous National Bell which was to be sounded over the Union."³⁸

The only real excitement of the convention occurred while the votes were still being changed. There was a sudden loud crash in the hall. The delegates and guests, remembering how over-crowded the hall was, believed that the balconies of the old church were collapsing. Panic resulted, and there was a great rush for the doors and windows. Those who were cool enough not to run for the exits immediately saw there was no real danger—only a bench had broken—and were able to subdue the crowd. Halstead reported that when it was discovered that they were in no danger, "the crowd stared at each other with white faces and laughed."³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

When order was once more restored, Erastus Brooks moved that the nomination be made unanimous. This was quickly done as loud and prolonged ayes answered the president's question. Hunt did not ask for the negative vote, but declared Bell the unanimous choice of the party. Then Major G.A. Henry of Tennessee, grandson of Patrick Henry, arose to thank the convention for honoring his state in what was termed "the speech of the convention." Halstead described Henry as a tall, well-formed gentleman with a bald head and a fringe of silvery hair who had inherited his illustrious ancestor's abilities as an orator.⁴⁰ In a great union speech calculated to arouse the crowd, Patrick pointed out the dangers of civil war. He vowed to be hanged as a traitor of the South rather than be "compelled to ooze his blade into the blood of a Northern brother." He concluded his speech by saying that they were the Union people, and if "by strife and hate and blinded council" they threw away their heritage "the curse of all time will cling upon us like the shirt of Nessus." When the other parties had collapsed,

. . . the vessel that bears us along shall "Walk the waters like a thing of life." Storms shall rage but it will not be upon our house. The waters of conflict shall divide, upon the right hand and upon the left, and we will pass through the Red Sea unhurt and unharmed.

At the conclusion of his long talk, the convention gave him twenty-five cheers. Then after a short patriotic address by Judge W.L. Sharkey of Mississippi, the convention recessed until five o'clock.⁴¹

On reassembling, Leslie Coombs of Kentucky made a short speech praising the convention's wisdom in nominating a citizen from his neighboring state. William L. Switzler then stood upon a bench and asked if nominations for Vice-President were in order? He said he did not intend to make one, but if the convention did not vote for Edward Everett, "the ladies will." During the recess it had been generally agreed that a Northerner should be nominated for Vice-President and that Edward Everett was the most available candidate. There were cries of "no ballot" from the hall during Switzler's talk and at its conclusion. Henry moved that by unanimous vote the convention declare Everett the nominee. With this motion the cheering was so great that Hunt had great difficulty restoring order. Many delegates then arose and said they were for Everett "for the sake of the ladies." A Delaware delegate said his state "was in love with Edward Everett and it would not do to keep them apart." A Virginia delegate cast that state's vote "in behalf of the ladies," while Everett was said to be first in "the hearts of the wives and daughters of North Carolina." Many of the speakers

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴¹ *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860.



John Minor Botts (1802-1869). *Library of Congress*.

mentioned Everett's work in raising funds for purchase and restoration of Mount Vernon and how this activity had led him to study the character of Washington. "He had drawn in an inspiration that has so purified and elevated his patriotism that it is enough of itself to save the Union."⁴²

A Kentucky delegate made the only other nomination, naming Washington Hunt, but Hunt quickly declined the honor, saying he could not accept.

At this point a delegate from Pennsylvania again moved the nomination be made unanimous, but he was interrupted by Leslie Coombs who pointed out that while many states had endorsed Everett, no one from the Massachusetts delegation had yet stated whether he would accept the nomination.

George S. Hilliard, editor of the *Boston Courier* and a member of the delegation, then made one of the outstanding speeches of the convention. He said he was not prepared to speak for Mr. Everett, but:

... if my illustrious friend had been here and beheld your bright faces, heard the voices, and felt the enthusiasm which pervades this Convention at the mention of his name, he must be something more or less than human if he could hesitate to accept the nomination.

He added that his state had wished to nominate Everett for the Presidency but had willingly given up his candidacy for Bell. Now he thought Everett, like Lady MacBeth, would say, "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once. That is, let us go to the White House—Everett and Bell, Bell and Everett—it matters not which, so that they both go there."

⁴² Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 139.

Hilliard continued by praising the convention as a band of Union loving men who stood between "the heights of Republican fanaticism on the one side and the deep sea of Democracy on the other." For the continuance of the Union Hilliard called upon Massachusetts and South Carolina to stand together "as in the days of Washington." At the end of his talk the ladies in the galleries threw bouquets on the platform. In thanking them he said that unfortunately "the ladies of Massachusetts were Republican almost to a man."⁴³

After what now was about twenty speeches, which took around three hours, a vote was called for and Everett was nominated by "universal acclamation . . . amid long and repeated cheering."⁴⁴

The president of the convention was instructed to inform Bell and Everett of their nomination and a motion was passed forming a fourteen man executive committee for the party. Mayor Swann then thanked the convention for choosing Baltimore for its meeting and said that just as Maryland had stood alone for Fillmore in 1856, now he would pledge at least a ten thousand vote majority in the state for Bell and Everett in 1860.

In his concluding speech, Washington Hunt pledged that the party would go forward and fight for the cause of the country. "We will do our duty yet, for our cause is just, and I trust in God that it will prevail." In high spirits and with three cheers for the nominees the convention was adjourned at 7:30 p.m. *sine die*.⁴⁵



BARNUM'S HOTEL.

Barnum's Hotel. *Maryland Historical Society.*

⁴³ *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 137; Stabler, "Constitutional Union Party," pp. 467-468.

⁴⁵ *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860.

A giant ratification meeting was scheduled for the next night in Monument Square, but the inclement weather caused it to be postponed until the evening of May 14. For the occasion an enormous sixty foot long platform in Gothic style was built extending across the entire front of the Court House. On each end were placed miniature turrets thirty feet high with small embrasures for guns. The panels on the towers contained portraits of Washington and Clay and representations of liberty and justice. At the top of one was the name of Bell and on the other Everett, while a flag streamed over each. Connecting the two towers was an arch with the coat-of-arms of every state and the motto "The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws." At the center of the arch was an American Eagle clasping the flag. The whole was brilliantly lighted by gas.

While many of the nationally prominent leaders of the party had already left Baltimore, enough remained to launch the ticket in proper style. Introduced by Maryland's Senator Kennedy, their patriotic speeches were constantly interrupted by transparencies with mottos like "Bell, Everett, and the Union," and "Our Bell rings to the sound of the Union, try it," and by the tolling of a gigantic bell brought to the square on a wagon.⁴⁶

Editorial reaction to the nominees of the Constitutional Union party was generally quite good. As might be expected, a party newspaper like the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* commented:

There is no man in the country to whom we could give a more cordial and earnest support; none to whose hands the interests of this great empire could be more safely entrusted. . . . For the first time in years, the people of this great confederacy have a ticket containing two spotless names. . . .⁴⁷

Yet opposition papers also found much to praise in the nominees. The *New York Times* editorial opinioned:

. . . Two more respectable names could not be found in the country, nor will anyone doubt that in their hands the government will be administered with ability, dignity and the most conscientious devotion to the honor and welfare of the whole country. . . . [Bell] is, in the best sense of the word, a statesman.⁴⁸

Criticism of the party almost always took the form of ridiculing its candidates, platform and supporters as being out of touch with the realities of the day. Samuel Bowles' *Springfield Republican* sneered, "Its ticket is

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1860; Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, p. 140. Halstead and several other historians say the meeting was held the night the convention adjourned. The *Baltimore American* makes it clear that there was a postponement due to rain.

⁴⁷ *Baltimore American*, May 11, 1860.

⁴⁸ *New York Times*, May 11, 1860.



Anthony Kennedy (1811-1892). *Library of Congress.*

universally respectable. It is worthy to be printed on gilt-edged, satin paper, laid away in a box of musk and kept there."⁴⁹ Greeley's *Tribune* claimed it had been a meeting of the "old gentleman's party" and that its solution to the country's problems was to leave them to some future day. The *New York Herald* took what was a common theme saying Bell "belongs to the fossil remains of the old Whig strata in political geology."⁵⁰ Halstead followed the same theme:

. . . Everybody is eminently respectable, intensely virtuous, devotedly patriotic, and fully resolved to save the country. They propose to accomplish that political salvation so devoutly to be wished by ignoring all the rugged issues of the day. . . .

. . . The whole talk was of the Constitution, the Union, and the laws of harmony, fraternity, compromise, conciliation, peace, good will, common glory, national brotherhood, preservation of the confederacy. All of

⁴⁹ O'Connor, *Lords of the Loom*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ *Baltimore American*, May 12, 1860.

these things it seemed to be understood the Convention had a monopoly. The Constitution, the Union, and peace between the sections would appear from the record of proceedings to be in the exclusive care of, and the peculiar institutions of, the no-party and no-platform gentlemen here assembled.⁵¹

Bell received official notification of his nomination a few days after the convention adjourned while he was staying at La Pierre House in Philadelphia. He was also serenaded by a torchlight procession containing an estimated six thousand people. In his letter accepting the nomination which he sent to Hunt on May 21, Bell praised the high quality of the delegates at Baltimore, saying that many had been persuaded to participate only because of the strong conviction that the American political system was approaching a crisis.

. . . if, under Providence, I should be called to preside over the affairs of this great country as the Executive Chief of the Government, the only . . . pledge I feel called upon to make is, . . . all the powers and influence belonging to my official station, shall be employed and directed for the promotion of all the great objects for which the Government was instituted, but more especially for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. . . .⁵²

In a letter marked "Private and Confidential" Everett declared that just as he took "effective measures" to keep from being nominated for the Presidency he would have also prevented his nomination for Vice-President "had I supposed it would have been tendered to me." Since he had been nominated, and since the convention had adjourned, he decided he had no choice but accept.⁵³ In his acceptance letter to Hunt, Everett also praised the high-minded and distinguished delegates, and said he did not believe in third parties, "but in the existing state of affairs, it would seem that a commencement must be made with such a meeting as that of the 9th and 10th at Baltimore."⁵⁴

In the campaign the Constitutional Union ticket did not generate much enthusiasm. In several large eastern states newspapers which were expected to support the party took what appeared to be a neutral attitude and many, while supporting Bell, also devoted much space to Lincoln, declaring that he too was for the Constitution and the Union. Many party workers noted

⁵¹ Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, pp. 126, 139-40.

⁵² Horace Greeley and J. F. Cleveland, *A Political Text-book for 1860* (New York, 1860), pp. 213-214.

⁵³ Edward Everett to Anna Ella Carroll, Sept. 7, 1860; Stabler, "Constitutional Union Party," pp. 488-491.

⁵⁴ Greeley and Cleveland, *Political Text-book*, pp. 214-215.

Thomas Swann
(c. 1806-1883.)
Maryland Historical Society.



that contributions were hard to collect and that volunteer workers were reluctant to devote their talents and energies to what most believed a hopeless cause.

By midsummer the Bell forces realized that at least the Gulf states would secede if Lincoln won, and that he would win if he carried New York and Pennsylvania. Both Bell and Douglas realized that neither would be able to carry a majority in the electoral college, unless some plan for fusion was agreed upon. Thus a plan was discussed that would fuse their tickets in doubtful states and allow the final electoral vote to be cast for that candidate who had the greatest chance of winning in the electoral college. If neither candidate could hope for a majority, fusion could also produce a plurality that would then force the election into the House of Representatives. It was felt that the House would turn to Bell as the least objectionable to the supporters of the other candidates. Fusion, either formally or informally, was actually accomplished in New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. But the carefully conceived plans were to no avail.⁵⁵

When the ballots were counted in November, Lincoln had carried every free state but New Jersey and had four electoral votes out of seven in that state; Douglas had only Missouri and New Jersey's three remaining electors; Breckinridge won in all of the slave states of the deep South but Virginia,

⁵⁵ Kirwan, *John J. Crittenden*, pp. 358-359; Parks, *John Bell*, pp. 370-375; William Ernest Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1969), I., pp. 502-504; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 339; Mayer, *Republican Party*, p. 74; Mary D. Srugham, *The Peaceable Americans of 1860-1861* (New York, 1921), pp. 34-35.

and carried the border states of Maryland and Delaware, while Bell and Constitutional Unionism received only the votes of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. Lincoln's electoral vote was 180, Breckinridge's 72, Douglas's 12, and Bell's 39. In the popular vote Bell came in last, receiving only 588,879 compared to Lincoln's 1,866,452, Douglas's 1,376,957, and Breckinridge's 849,781.⁵⁶

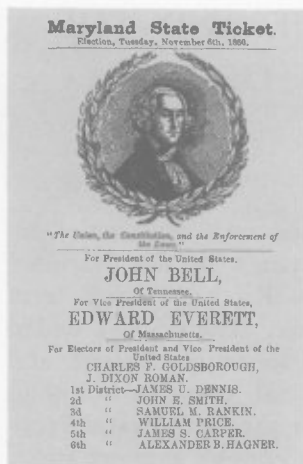
The greatest strength of the Constitutional Union party was also its weakest point. Its determination to take no stand on the issue of slavery held promise of uniting conservatives of both North and South, but at the same time, it robbed its candidates of the one great talking point of the campaign. The lack of a platform, what in reality was a rather traditional Whig device, might make it possible to offend none of the party's supporters, but at the same time, it was impossible to inspire enthusiasm for a proposal to do nothing. As Edward Bates wrote in his diary, "If they have really formed a *new party*, it is absolutely necessary to have a *platform* . . . to say only they go for the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws, is only what every other party says. Sometimes, when the parties are broken, as now, a *man* arises whose bold character and strong *will* make him a *platform* of himself . . .," but such was not the case in 1860. Bell was not the Jackson to create a new party in his own image.⁵⁷

In fact, even Bell's biographer claimed that his nomination was probably an unwise move on the part of the Constitutional Union party. As a prominent member of the House and Senate he had taken part in the many debates on slavery; siding with John Quincy Adams on the petitions question, opposing the annexation of Texas, fighting the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, yet too, debating against the Wilmot Proviso and defending the institution of slavery. In the campaign itself Bell did not clarify his position, but rather allowed his Southern supporters to extract his proslavery utterances and his Northern campaign workers to quote his anti-slavery record. Thus the party was reduced to "supporting slavery in one section and denying that support in the other."⁵⁸ As the opposition was only too willing to quote from the whole record, Bell could hope for little support from the conservative Democrats of the South, was hated by the ultras of that party, and was distrusted by many Southern Whigs. In the North many conservative Democrats admired his record in the slavery controversy, but these were usually

⁵⁶ Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections: From George Washington to Richard Nixon* (3rd Ed., New York, 1970), pp. 183-184; Bell came close to winning in Missouri, losing to Douglas by only 509 votes, Smith, *Francis P. Blair Family*, pp. 506-507; and in Maryland to Breckinridge by less than a thousand votes, Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 114.

⁵⁷ Beale, *Diary of Edward Bates*, p. 127.

⁵⁸ Emerson David Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860* (New York, 1911, p. 187; Bernard C. Steiner, *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 165.



Bell
Maryland State Ticket.
Maryland Historical Society.

the men who supported Douglas, who had taken a similar stand. Conservative Republicans might also admire his record, but as the master of more than eighty slaves he could not expect widespread support from the party.⁵⁹

On a personal level, Bell also lacked those qualities to make him a popular leader. In his biography of John Crittenden, Albert D. Kirwan wrote, "... [Bell] lacked mental agility, which seemed to correlate with his physical obesity and his stiff, formal bearing. He created an image of solemnity and glumness that repelled rather than attracted."⁶⁰

Everett did not counteract Bell's faults as a candidate. While a scholar and orator of the first order, he lacked color and was regarded as a cold and aloof patrician. Moreover, he lacked enthusiasm and did not work for the party cause. On the slavery issue he did not help the party in the South, having declared that "slavery was a social, political, and moral evil." To add to the problem, it was brought out during the campaign that he sent his children to the Cambridge public schools which also admitted Negroes.⁶¹

If the Constitutional Union Party was to have succeeded in its mission to save the Union it needed strong, dynamic and visionary leadership. Instead it was presided over by the same men who staged the decline of the old Whig party. As Eugene Roseboom in his *History of Presidential Elections* summed up the movement, the Bells, Everetts, and Crittendens were "pale reflections" of the old leadership of Clays and Websters, they were "thin-blooded elder statesmen." If "Whiggery had gone to seed" under their leadership, Constitutional Unionism had not even sprouted.⁶²

⁵⁹ Parks, *John Bell*, p. 357.

⁶⁰ Kirwan, *John J. Crittenden*, p. 356.

⁶¹ Fite, *Campaign of 1860*, p. 187; Stabler, "Constitutional Union Party," p. 492.

⁶² Roseboom, *Presidential Elections*, p. 148.

GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE AND THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1932

BY JAMES LEVIN

G OVERNOR Albert Ritchie's role in the 1924 Democratic National Convention established him as a man of importance in the National Democratic party. That prominence helped to gain Ritchie a third term as Governor in 1926. As Maryland's chief executive, Ritchie had ended his innovative period, but he continued to oversee an efficient and economical administration. He made several national speaking tours in 1927 and 1928 with the hope of drawing support for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1928, but he failed to attract enough support and a few days before the convention opened, he withdrew in favor of Al Smith of New York.

Although Smith was badly defeated in Maryland in 1928, Ritchie won a fourth term as Governor in 1930 by a record majority of the vote in a contest against the popular Republican Mayor of Baltimore, William F. Broening. Again he began speaking nationally, hoping to capture the Presidential nomination. Such diverse advisors as Bernard Baruch and H. L. Mencken warned Ritchie that his campaign was amateurish and insufficiently aggressive for him to win the nomination, but Ritchie failed to heed their advice, claiming that he lacked funds for a large scale campaign. This was not true as Ritchie had received nearly a quarter of a million dollars from his mother's estate in the previous year. Still Ritchie preferred to wait and have people come to him on the basis of the ideas he presented in his speeches which were variations on the theme of States' rights.

Despite a rather lackluster campaign, Ritchie did come into the convention with a chance to be nominated.¹ The hope was that Roosevelt would be eliminated because he would never get two-thirds of the total vote which was necessary for the nomination, since Smith and a host of minor candidates held over one-third of the votes. Nor was this idea entirely unjustified.

¹ Unlike the three national conventions which Ritchie attended in the 1920's, 1932 has often been clearly described because of the later career of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Since most of the accounts of the convention have been written in biographies of Roosevelt, the picture centers around him. Biographies of Smith and Garner tend to balance the picture somewhat, but it is often hard to estimate the chances of the other candidates in the convention, especially when one looks backward from the results. An attempt to describe Ritchie's role in the convention brings these problems into clear focus. The optimism of the Governor himself and his followers at the convention could leave one with the impression that Ritchie just missed becoming the nominee. On the other hand, the actual number of votes he received in the balloting is so small as to create the idea that he was no more than a favorite son with minute out-of-State support. The truth lies somewhere between these extremes.



Albert C. Ritchie. By Elias M. Grossman, 1932. *Maryland Historical Society*.

It was true that Roosevelt did control more than a majority of the delegate's votes when the convention opened, and that only Martin Van Buren, Champ Clark and Stephen Douglas had ever failed to win the nomination after having received one-half of the votes. However, James Farley and Howe, Roosevelt's chief managers, based their hopes on coming into the convention with as many votes as possible. By the end of April, Roosevelt had collected 300 delegates of the 768 he needed to win, and Smith had 225.² From then on the Roosevelt forces worked tirelessly to secure every possible vote. They were successful everywhere except in the Massachusetts primary against Al Smith, and the rather surprising California primary where Roosevelt ran second to Speaker of the House, John Nance Garner. At that point, Garner had been regarded as no more than a Texas favorite son whose campaign was being largely manufactured by the Hearst press because Hearst was looking for a candidate who opposed United States entrance into the League

² Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 143; Frank Friedel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt, The Triumph* (Boston, 1956), p. 276.

of Nations.³ Despite the loss of Massachusetts and California by the time of the convention, Farley claimed 690 votes which was probably 20 votes too generous. But the problem for the Roosevelt camp was that hardly a single vote then remained that showed any inclination to move into the Roosevelt column, at least none that would do so without a deal because all of the favorite sons whose delegations leaned towards Roosevelt had since dropped out. The others seemed likely to battle until the finish or at least until something came along which made it worth their while to leave the race.⁴

Ritchie, Smith and other hopefuls were aware that this situation confronted Roosevelt; and Ritchie and Smith clearly felt that Roosevelt had nowhere at all to go for delegates. Farley could hold back a few votes so that Roosevelt's total would increase on the second and possibly even the third ballot, but after that they were sure that his drive would collapse.

Ritchie also felt that when the delegates settled down to business, his forthrightness on all important issues would win him votes as Roosevelt's ambiguity was exposed. The national press had constantly praised Ritchie's integrity and administrative ability. Even the fiercely prohibitionist journal, the *Christian Herald*, had lauded Ritchie's dedication and pragmatic administration.⁵ At the other end of the political spectrum, Oswald G. Villard wrote in the *Nation* that Ritchie was "a man of excellent brains with his emotions completely under control . . . sincere, candid and without malice."⁶ The *Outlook and Independent* described Ritchie as intelligent enough to adapt his views to the situation and as being always open-minded and honest.⁷

But Ritchie had been warned that sometimes men are more interested in the personality of their leader than in his ideas. Omar Hersey, a Baltimore attorney, wrote him in 1931: "The editorials certainly do you proud . . . but I still think, as I said the last time I saw you, that you can't trust too much to Ritchie luck and manifest destiny. . . . No one cares much about your ideas, but a lot about the sort of cuss they think you are. The idea is pretty well abroad that you are a 'profound statesman'; how can you make yourself a colorful leader? Damn, if I know."⁸ Robert Barry of

³ Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, pp. 136, 138, 149. Hearst was afraid that Roosevelt would attempt to bring the United States into the League despite a public statement which he had managed to exhort from Roosevelt to the contrary.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

⁵ Harold E. West, "Maryland's Choice for President," *Christian Herald*, LI, February 11, 1928, p. 143.

⁶ Oswald G. Villard, "Governor Albert C. Ritchie," *Nation*, CXXVI, February 1, 1928, pp. 120-123.

⁷ Fred Barkeley, "Albert IV of Maryland, a Portrait of the Perennial Governor," *Outlook and Independent*, CLVII, 4 March 1931, pp. 337-339. See also Frank Kent, "Presidential Sweepstakes," *Scribners*, June, 1932, pp. 617-623; Mark Watson, "Albert C. Ritchie," *Forum*, August, 1931, pp. 107-113, clippings in Albert Ritchie Papers, MS. 710, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁸ Omar F. Hersey to Ritchie, November 13, 1931, in Ritchie Papers.



Franklin D. Roosevelt. *Library of Congress.*

the *New York Evening World* warned Ritchie that he “had pitched it [his campaign] a key above the range of the voice of the people to whom he must inevitably turn.”⁹ The *American Mercury* cautioned Ritchie that he could win if he were less of a statesman.¹⁰

Perhaps Ritchie tried to follow the advice which he was given, but he never projected the warmth which men felt about Roosevelt nor could he develop a “folksy” manner calculated to appeal to delegates from the South and West. Reporter Thomas Stokes described Ritchie as looking like a wax

⁹ *New York Evening World*, June, 1932, clipping in Ritchie Papers.

¹⁰ *American Mercury*, April, 1931, *ibid.*

figure in a shop window. His dress was always elegant. "He was pleasantly reserved, seeming to hold himself in for fear that he might disturb that bland equanimity which was his public self. His face was constantly alight with a beneficent smile that never became openly joyous. His chuckle often was restrained and artificial. He just wouldn't let himself go. He wouldn't emerge from the campaign photograph," he wrote.¹¹ There seemed nothing for Ritchie to do but rely on uprightness and integrity on the issues.

Ritchie did have some reasons to expect influential support if Roosevelt was stopped. His unusual combination of conservatism with some progressive aims and his anti-prohibitionism made him available to many party men.¹² A secret poll of the Democratic members of Congress taken by *Cosmopolitan* magazine in the spring of 1932 to find the preferences for their party's 1932 nominee gave Roosevelt 59 votes, Ritchie 37, and Owen Young 27. Other leaders including Smith and Baker each received less than 20 votes.¹³ Some other expectations were more concrete. Ritchie felt that Bernard Baruch was supporting him and was annoyed that Baruch would not make a public announcement of his preference. Baruch had written to Frank Kent in 1929 that Ritchie was the logical nominee, but he refused to break the resolve that he had made in 1924 never to enter another nominating fight.¹⁴ Perhaps most important to the Ritchie camp was that they might have the support of the Raskob-Smith-Shouse group and the city organizations.

From Ritchie's point of view, these promises were more than vague ones. The Governor felt that he had stepped aside for Smith in 1928 and expected the favor to be returned. It does seem doubtful that the bargain of which Truman Thomas Semans, son of a cousin of Ritchie's, wrote in 1947 is true, but Ritchie did expect that Smith meant to drop out of the race after Roosevelt was stopped and announce himself as supporting Ritchie.¹⁵

¹¹ Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 180.

¹² Friedel, *The Ordeal*, p. 174, 202-3; Karl Schriftgeiser, *This Was Normalcy* (Boston, 1948), pp. 253-254; Dwight L. Dummond, *Roosevelt to Roosevelt* (New York, 1937), p. 382; Alfred B. Rollins, *Roosevelt and Howe* (New York, 1962), pp. 339, 342, 345-346, 352.

¹³ *Cosmopolitan*, April, 1932, clipping in Ritchie Papers.

¹⁴ Bernard M. Baruch, *The Public Years* (New York, 1960), pp. 237-238; Margret L. Coit, *Mr. Baruch* (Boston, 1957), p. 426.

¹⁵ Semans wrote in "Maryland's Albert C. Ritchie," a B. A. thesis written at Princeton University under the sponsorship of Eric Goldman in 1949, "Two strong men sat face to face on opposite sides of a table in a downstairs Manhattan office in the spring of 1928. Each strong man had a single trusted friend beside him. For some time they had been in animated, rapid, yet friendly conversation in the room. The voices of the four swelled, and rose, and fell as twilight darkened into evening. The four remained alone and silent. It was not an oppressive silence, but it was tense. Finally the taller, handsomer man got up and stretched out his hand to the smaller more nervous man. 'All right, Al, I'll wait,' Albert C. Ritchie said to Al Smith. With those very simple words, Ritchie took himself out of the race and practically ensured the nomination of Smith." Truman Thomas Semans, "Maryland's Albert C. Ritchie" (unpublished B.A. thesis, Princeton, 1949), p.



Cartoon. Drawing by Berryman. *Library of Congress.*

None of the Maryland leaders can remember any exact deals on this point. Jouett Shouse attended two Ritchie dinners in Maryland, but he says that he gave no promise of support to Ritchie nor to his knowledge did Governor Smith. Shouse admitted liking Ritchie and that he was ill-disposed to Roosevelt, but he remembered no solid basis for Ritchie's optimism about Smith's eventual support.¹⁶

But even if Ritchie had overestimated his support, his personal friendship with Raskob and Smith made him more likely of the eventual support of these men than Newton Baker. Hearst would not have Baker under any circumstances, and so Ritchie had a possibility of being the eventual beneficiary of the Garner votes as well.¹⁷ Obviously, Ritchie was still planning that Roosevelt would be stopped.

And at this point, despite his stiffness and high-pitched campaign, Ritchie

¹⁶ Interview Thigpen with Shouse, November 18, 1964, in Neal D. Thigpen, "The Presidential Aspirations of Albert C. Ritchie" (M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1966), pp. 105-106.

¹⁷ Tugwell Recollections, pp. 28, 50-51, and Samuel K. Bledsoe Recollections (Columbia Oral History Collection).

had evidence of his personal popularity which bolstered his confidence. Maryland residents were very excited about the candidacy of their Governor and many people crowded into Mount Royal station to see Ritchie leave for Chicago on June 22. The Governor's well-wishers were estimated variously from 50,000-80,000 people. The crowd was so frenzied that it was almost impossible to quiet them for a speech by Mayor Howard Jackson praising the Governor. Fortunately, the station had been equipped with special amplifiers so that the audience could hear the speech as well as the band which had been provided to add to the holiday atmosphere.¹⁸

However, the crowds that greeted Ritchie in Chicago were unplanned and were larger than those at his departure from Baltimore. When the Governor's long special train pulled into the Baltimore and Ohio station in Chicago shortly before noon, there were thousands of cheering people massed inside and on the street. They wore big red and white armllets marked with "Win with Ritchie." Three bands were playing and hundreds of banners were displayed.¹⁹

Hundreds of cheering people fought their way down the tracks while photographers, hanging dangerously from the rafters, tried to get pictures. Ritchie was on the rear car, and the jam about it was so great that policemen were unable to keep the crowds under control. Jackson and O'Connor stood beside the Governor as many people tried to shake his hand. It was a long distance to the front of the station and every foot was a struggle. Women's clothes were torn and men were lifted off their feet. Even the ever-perfectly-dressed Ritchie lost one of his low-cut shoes and could not seem to get it back on because of the jostling of the crowd until he gamely jumped on a baggage truck and fixed it. The huge fife and drum corps of the Chicago Board of Trade struck up a marching tune as Ritchie was half carried through the cheering jam into a waiting automobile. None of the official welcoming committee from the city had even gotten near enough to shake the Governor's hand.²⁰

A parade which followed the Governor's car was more than one-half mile long as it swung across the Loop on Jackson Boulevard. As it was noon hour crowds lined the streets all the way to the Congress Hotel where Ritchie was staying. Still another large group of citizens yelling "our next President" greeted Ritchie at the hotel and more than 1,000 people swarmed into the big public reception room on the second floor and pressed forward to shake the Governor's hand.²¹

The reception which greeted Ritchie impressed reporters covering the

¹⁸ *Baltimore Evening Sun*, June 21, 1932, p. 32.

¹⁹ *Evening Sun*, June 24, 1932, p. 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 3.

²¹ *Evening Sun*, June 24, 1932, pp. 1, 3.



James A. Farley. *Library of Congress.*

convention as it no doubt impressed other politicians. The *New York Times* estimated that 100,000 people had come out to greet Ritchie.²² These demonstrations also seem to be part of the reason why Farley decided to offer the Vice-Presidential nomination to Ritchie before going to any other candidate.

When the Roosevelt men came to the convention, they were aware that they had gained the ultimate number of votes that they could on the strength of Roosevelt's own appeal. What now seemed to be the best strategy was to arrange a deal by which one of the other contenders surrendered his votes to Roosevelt for President in return for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Farley offered Ritchie the first opportunity to take the Vice-Presidential nomination, but exactly how the offer was sent to Ritchie is unclear. Baruch remembers himself as the intermediary.²³ Farley wrote that he had sent the offer to Ritchie through Mayor Jackson.²⁴ In the most detailed account, a

²² *New York Times*, June 24, 1932, p. 1.

²³ Baruch, *The Public Years*, p. 240.

²⁴ Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 163; James Farley, *Behind the Ballots* (New York, 1938), p. 114.

Baltimore advertising man, Louis E. Schecter, wrote thirty-four years later that he came to Ritchie's suite in the Congress Hotel at 2:30 a.m. on the 25th to relay an interview which he had just had with Jim Farley. The interview had concerned the deal about the Vice-Presidency. Schecter had promised Farley an answer by nine the next morning, and he tried to persuade Ritchie to accept the offer, but Ritchie said politely that such a deal was impossible. Smith's men, Ritchie said, would stop Roosevelt and then back him, and besides he would rather be Governor of Maryland than Vice-President. Schecter had breakfast with Mayor Jackson at 7:30, and Jackson said that he felt Ritchie was being misled by the Smith men, and he tried unsuccessfully to persuade Ritchie of this. When Schecter reported back to Farley at 9:00 a.m., he was forced to admit that Ritchie would not accept.²⁵

After Ritchie refused, Farley went on to offer the Vice-Presidential nomination to Harry Byrd, to the Illinois Nash-Cermak machine which was holding its votes under the name of "favorite son" Melvin V. Traylor, and to House Speaker John Nance Garner.²⁶ Only the Garner men seemed at all interested, and even then Sam Rayburn told Farley that he would have to wait three, four or even five ballots for an answer.

Everything that happened on the first days of the convention was subject to such varying interpretations that Ritchie was able to justify that he had planned correctly and so could the Roosevelt forces. The latter managed to win the permanent chairmanship for their ally, Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, but with less than two-thirds of the vote, and they were badly defeated on their abortive attempt to eliminate the rule that two-thirds of the vote was necessary to win the nomination.²⁷ The very fact that the Roosevelt forces attempted a floor battle over the century-old "two-thirds" rule helped to convince Ritchie that Roosevelt knew that he could not get the two-thirds necessary for the nomination. The election of Walsh by less than two-thirds of the vote led Ritchie to the same conclusion. Newspapers reported that Ritchie's chances were growing better, especially if the rules fight meant that Roosevelt had been stopped.²⁸

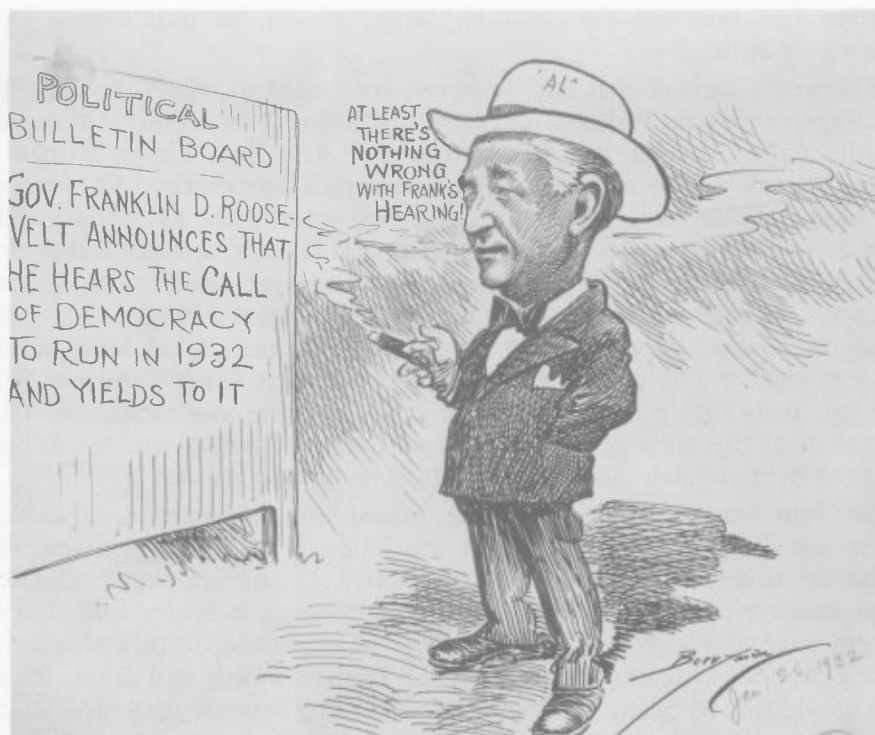
The next task of the convention, and one about which Ritchie was more concerned than Roosevelt, was the framing of a platform. On June 29, the platform committee, on which E. Brooke Lee had been the Maryland representative, reported its work to the entire convention. The prohibition issue had been resolved by a plank calling for the repeal of the prohibition against beer and wine. A more moderate plank which would have submitted

²⁵ Louis E. Schecter, "I Remember Albert C. Ritchie" (1966, a five-page typed manuscript filed in the Maryland Historical Society).

²⁶ Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, pp. 148, 163.

²⁷ *Evening Sun*, June 27, 1932, p. 1.

²⁸ *New York Times*, June 27, 1932.



Cartoon. Drawing by Berryman. *Library of Congress*.

the issue to individual states for separate action was defeated in committee and became the minority suggestion.²⁹ The minority plank reached the floor in a speech by Cordell Hull, but it was poorly received.³⁰ Ritchie was among the speakers for the majority position. He reminded the delegates that he had made the same arguments from the convention platform twelve years ago when they were considerably less popular than they were in 1932.³¹

When the matter came to a vote, the convention voted to accept the majority plank by an overwhelming vote of 932¾ to 213¾. Ritchie saw the vote as an indicator of his support, and Smith's forces felt that they had put Roosevelt in an embarrassing position since much of his support was from the dry southern and western delegates who were backing Roosevelt as a dry, and he would now have to endorse a "wet" plank. On the other hand, Farley felt that in passing the prohibition repeal plank, the con-

²⁹ *Evening Sun*, June 29, 1932, p. 1; Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 179.

³⁰ Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 173.

³¹ Democratic National Committee, *Official Report of the Democratic National Convention of 1932*, p. 177; James Farley, *Jim Farley's Story* (New York, 1948), p. 18.

vention had removed the most important reason for nominating either Ritchie or Smith.³²

The newspapers of that day, however, continued to report that Ritchie's chances were rising. William A. White noted that if Roosevelt was stopped, Smith could not win the nomination and that then either Ritchie or Baker would be the nominee with Roosevelt's cooperation. Canvasses of the second choice votes in other delegations revealed great Ritchie strength.³³ The *New York Herald Tribune* reported that Ritchie and not Baker stood at the top of the list of those to whom the convention would turn in case of a Roosevelt-Smith deadlock. Mark Sullivan wrote that Ritchie was the only candidate among the non-Roosevelt forces "who has a good faith, serious, hope to win."³⁴ The United Press also reported that Ritchie and not Baker was the likely choice in case of the need of a compromise candidate. There also arose at this stage of the convention a popular slogan which was being chanted by many delegates: "Roosevelt, Ritchie and Repeal."³⁵

On June 1st, the candidates were placed into nomination. Roosevelt's name was the first presented, and it was followed by a comparatively short demonstration of which H. L. Mencken wrote, "I can recall no candidate of importance who ever had so few fanatics whooping it up for him. His followers were as silent as if they were up to something unpalatable to the police."³⁶ Following the nominations of Garner, Smith and Byrd, Ritchie was nominated by Senator Millard Tydings. The Senator presented Ritchie as a "man steeped in the great and lasting principles upon which our Democracy was founded, and it is those principles alone which can take us out of the gloom." "Ritchie," he said further, "is a man who will appeal alike to the sections and inspire enthusiasm everywhere . . . a stalwart, magnetic figure with a courageous heart and a sound, inspiring personality." Then Tydings reviewed Ritchie's record in Maryland, his increasingly large majorities in each of his four elections for Governor, and placed stress on "his liberal principles and humanitarian heart." Tydings made great claims about Maryland's reduced taxes and balanced budget; he stressed the state's reduction of bureaucracy, its excellent health and educational programs, and finally ended by describing Ritchie as the "symbol of vigor and honesty" whose appeal was beyond sectional boundaries.³⁷

The speech was followed as usual by a demonstration. It was probably the noisiest of the convention, and it lasted forty minutes. Delegates with

³² *New York Times*, June 30, 1932; *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1932; Friedel, *The Triumph*, p. 303.

³³ *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1932; *New York Times*, June 28, 29, 30, 1932; but also see C. H. Cramer, *Newton D. Baker* (New York, 1961), p. 252.

³⁴ *New York Herald Tribune*, June 28, 1932.

³⁵ *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1932.

³⁶ *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1932.

³⁷ *Official Report of the Proceedings*, pp. 143-146.

banners of Texas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, New Jersey, and other states were in the parade headed by James A. Forkin of Baltimore, but as Farley remarked to Ritchie during the parade, it was votes and not noise that counted.³⁸

After several more nominating and seconding speeches, the last speech of the evening was made by George P. Marshall of the District of Columbia who said:

Perspiring delegates, I'm closing the show. This is the finish. There is one thing I would like to say to you. We haven't got a vote in the District of Columbia, but there are certain people in the District who have ideas. We have to do one thing that no one else in this convention had to do—we have to live with the next President. We have to live with the nominee, and we have lived next door to a man that we know is worthwhile living with. I second the nomination of Albert C. Ritchie.³⁹

At this point, Chairman Walsh called in "Alfalfa Bill" Murray's band of girls dressed in kilts to wake up the delegates, and then at 4:28 a.m., he banged the gavel and roared, "The clerk will call the roll for the first ballot for the nomination for the President of the United States."⁴⁰ The ballot took two full hours as delegates demanded polls of each member of nearly every delegation to discover specific delegate strength of each of the candidates. The vote ended: Roosevelt 664½, Smith 201¼, Garner 94¼, Byrd 25, Traylor 42½, Ritchie 21, Reed 24, White 52, Murray 23, Baker 8½.⁴¹

There is no doubt that tension was the main theme of the evening. The Roosevelt drive gained 12½ votes on the second ballot of the 103 and a fraction which they needed. Several of these Farley had carefully hoarded on the opening ballot, but even then the result was not impressive. Ritchie was still certain that his waiting policy was the correct one. On the third ballot, Roosevelt gained still less, only 4½ votes, and a worried Farley had Walsh adjourn the session as fast as possible. Wilted delegates struggled out on the street around 9:00 a.m. in the morning.⁴²

Quite naturally frantic work was being done all evening by the backers of nearly every candidate. Basically the Roosevelt forces were trying to collect, by any possible deal, the votes which were necessary to get their candidate the required two-thirds of the vote. Ritchie, Smith and the other hopefuls were working to prevent any such deals from being made, but they were probably a little over-confident that they had Roosevelt stopped.⁴³

³⁸ *Evening Sun*, July 1, 1932, p. 3; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, p. 139.

³⁹ *Official Report of the Proceedings*, p. 287.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴² Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 188.

⁴³ Henry L. Mencken, *The Making of a President* (New York, 1932), p. 126.



Al Smith. Drawing by Rollin Kirby. *Library of Congress*.

Most of the accounts of the evening were stories of tragic near-errors or knick-of-time successes, but the frantic canvassing produced occasional humorous results. The future Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, was one of the most fervent Ritchie backers. Sometime during the morning after the third ballot he cornered Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Douglas and took them into Ritchie headquarters for a drink. Two women in the room asked Acheson what was going to happen, and he replied, "I think we got that so-and-so stopped." The ladies then introduced themselves as Mrs. James Roosevelt and Roosevelt's married daughter, Mrs. Dahl. Acheson with complete aplomb said, "Suppose we start again."⁴⁴

Delegate Marion Dickerman reported that in the Roosevelt headquarters Howe and Farley were in a state of complete exhaustion, and simply lying on the floor. Electric fans were turned on Howe who was so weak with asthma that he could not make himself heard when he spoke. Farley was so fatigued that when he remembered to send out for food, all he could think of was ice cream.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Arthur Krock, "Recollections" (Columbia Oral History Collection, 1955), pp. 7-9.

⁴⁵ Martin, *Behind the Ballots*, pp. 189-190, 281.

However, there was really no time for anyone to rest, and in all headquarters, men revived themselves in a few minutes as the fierce bargaining of the previous day continued. Farley concentrated his efforts on the Garner block of votes, and through a complex set of talks he had arranged a deal by the time the session began in the afternoon. Roosevelt's law partner later commented that at least 62,000 of the 55,000 Democrats in Chicago claim to have negotiated the agreement.⁴⁶ Garner had agreed to release his delegates more from a sense of party loyalty than anything else for he did not want the party involved in a struggle as that of 1924.⁴⁷ But Garner was still obligated to Hearst who remained doubtful about Roosevelt's foreign policy ideas. Before Garner agreed to the deal, he checked if it would be acceptable to Hearst. Hearst then tried to check whom the convention would nominate if Roosevelt was stopped. If Ritchie would have been the candidate, then he would have advised Garner not to withdraw. But Joseph Kennedy informed Hearst that Baker and not Ritchie would be the compromise choice and so great were Hearst's fears that Kennedy would be correct, that he reluctantly decided not to gamble and told Garner to withdraw in favor of Roosevelt.⁴⁸

But even at this point Roosevelt was still not assured of the nomination. Garner released his delegates, but he could not insure that Texas or California would go for Roosevelt. Ironically, the Texas delegation had been filled with anti-Roosevelt men when it was formed, and now these men did not approve of the deal, and Garner was in Washington and unable to persuade them personally of its wisdom. The California delegation was dependent on McAdoo's instructions, and McAdoo still had vague hopes that he might be a compromise choice of the convention.⁴⁹ Hugh Young was frantically canvassing the Texas delegation at this point, and Young was persuasive because of the number of successful serious operations he had already performed on various delegates.⁵⁰ Young related in his own autobiography that he was heartbroken that the Texas delegation caucused when sixteen Ritchie men were out of the room. Their votes, he said, would have given the delegation to Ritchie, and that would have been the final blow to the Roosevelt drive.⁵¹ McAdoo also eventually agreed to the deal,

⁴⁶ Friedel, *The Triumph*, p. 304; William Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1963), p. 8.

⁴⁷ Leuchtenberg, *Roosevelt*, p. 8; Garner interview in *New York Times*, July 2, 1932; Bascon Timmons, *Garner of Texas* (New York, 1948), pp. 159-168. Burton K. Wheeler and Paul F. Healy, *Yankee From the West* (New York, 1962), p. 287; S. S. McKay, "John N. Garner," *West Texas Historical Association*, XXXVII (Oct., 1961), p. 26.

⁴⁸ Krock, "Recollections," pp. 7-9; Richard J. Whalen, *The Founding Father* (New York, 1964), p. 124.

⁴⁹ John M. Burns, *F.D.R., The Lion and the Fox* (New York, 1956), p. 137.

⁵⁰ "I think Garner would make a great president, said delegate T. M. Washington, but I might have to go back to Johns Hopkins, and if I did, Doc Young might not admit me. He's that strong for Ritchie." Quotation in Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 195.

⁵¹ Hugh H. Young, *The Autobiography of a Surgeon* (New York, 1940), p. 258.



John Nance Garner. *Library of Congress*.

probably to end Smith's hopes and to even the score for 1924, but he waited so long to decide that he had to hitch a ride on a motorcycle in order to arrive at the convention hall after his car ran out of gas. He ran on to the floor barely in time to cast the California votes.⁵²

When McAdoo finished speaking on the floor, Ritchie's hopes were ended. Unlike Smith, who marched angrily out of the hall, Ritchie remained impassive, but behind the mask he was suffering great disappointment.⁵³ He later admitted how unwise he had been to refuse Roosevelt's original offer of the Vice-Presidency which he had rejected so cavalierly a few days before.⁵⁴

The next morning Bernard Baruch went to Roosevelt headquarters and asked Farley if it was still possible to consider Ritchie for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Farley replied that Garner was their choice, and there were

⁵² Burns, *The Lion and the Fox*, p. 147; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston, 1957), pp. 309-311.

⁵³ Schlesinger, *The Crisis of Old Order*, p. 310.

⁵⁴ Schechter, "I Remember Ritchie," p. 4.

no other considerations to be made.⁵⁵ On June 2, H. L. Mencken optimistically wrote that Ritchie was the least hurt of all the candidates and would be offered an important place in the cabinet if he should want it.⁵⁶ This was simply wishful thinking. Roosevelt was not happy with Ritchie's rejection of the Vice-Presidency and was still suspicious of Ritchie's friendship with Smith as well as of Ritchie's attempt to block Roosevelt's nomination. According to Farley, Ritchie was never even considered for a place in the cabinet.⁵⁷

Ritchie left the convention a sad, disappointed man. He had gambled on a set of circumstances to win the Presidential nomination which never materialized. But he might well have had the Vice-Presidential nomination, and here only an error of political judgment unattached to any uncontrollable circumstances was at fault. He was fifty-five years old, and it was doubtful that any such opportunity would come to him again. His Maryland fiefdom yielded small consolation after the whole kingdom had seemed so nearly his.

⁵⁵ Friedel, *The Ordeal*, p. 313; Martin, *Ballots and Bandwagons*, p. 201.

⁵⁶ *Evening Sun*, July 2, 1932, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, p. 33.

SIDELIGHTS

THE DOME OF THE ANNAPOLIS STATE HOUSE

BY WINIFRED AND DOUGLAS GORDON

THE source of the design of the handsome dome of the State House which has delightfully dominated the ancient city of Annapolis for nearly two centuries has never been determined. Nothing at all similar to it, according to the leading authorities, is known in Great Britain.¹ William Eddis in Letter XIV of his *Letters from America*, under date of October 4, 1773, merely says, "About the close of the year 1769, an act of assembly was passed to erect a new stadt-house, on a very enlarged and beautiful plan. This work has been carried on with great dispatch, and, when completed, will, at least, be equal to any public edifice on the American continent."² David Ridgely in his *Annals of Annapolis* gives the name of the architect as Joseph Clarke,—elsewhere spelt Clark. But he also mentions that the dome "was not added to the main building until after the revolution."³

Thomas W. Griffith in his *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland*⁴ asserts of the State House that "William Anderson was the architect, but it received its present finish several years after by Mr. Joseph Clark." It is now justifiably believed, since no William Anderson is known, that the architect referred to was one practicing in Annapolis at the time, Joseph Horatio Anderson.⁵ But Joseph Clarke did appear on the scene in 1785.⁶ An earlier cupola, found the previous year to be beyond repair, was in that year replaced by the present magnificent dome, sixty feet higher than its predecessor. It was finished in 1788.

The term State House, in such general use in the United States, is practically unknown in England. It derives from the Dutch *stadhuis* or the German *stadthaus*, city hall. But the half-German form "stadt-house," used by the Provincial General Assembly in the very act removing the capital from St. Mary's City to Annapolis and providing for the building of the original State House in the new capital,⁷ and used again seventy-nine years later by Eddis and many times between those dates and since, affords a clue to the source of the dome's design. For there can be little doubt that

¹ Nikolaus Pevsner and John Summerson in conversation with the authors.

² William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), pp. 145-146; (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1969), p. 76.

³ David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), p. 147.

⁴ Thomas W. Griffith, *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 62.

⁵ Charles Scarlett, Jr., "Governor Horatio Sharpe's 'Whitehall,'" *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (March, 1951), p. 16.

⁶ Morris L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1954), p. 84.

⁷ W. H. Brown, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (73 vols.: Baltimore, 1883 to present), XXXVIII, pp. 23-25 (Chapter 29 of the Acts of 1694).



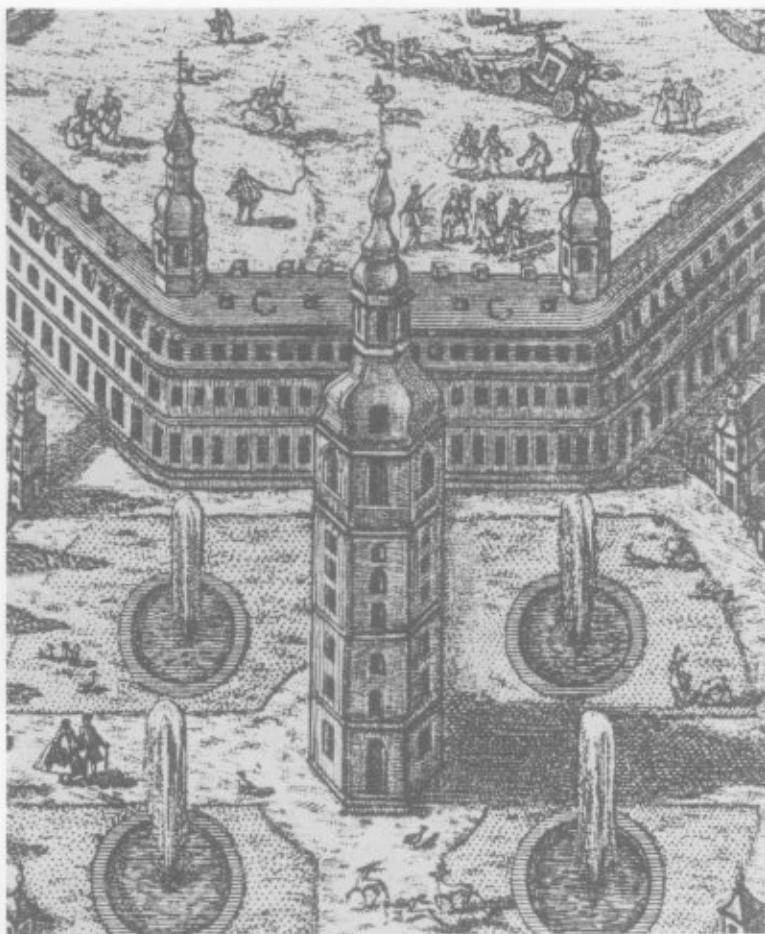
State House, Annapolis. Photo by M. E. Warren, Annapolis.

the State House dome is based on the Schlossturm,—sometimes also called Bleiturm—, the free-standing tower on the north side of the palace of Karl-Wilhelm, Markgraf of Baden in Karlsruhe. Viewed from the south, it gives the appearance of a dome rising from the palace itself. Karl-Wilhelm created the town of Karlsruhe and started building the palace in 1715.

The building committee for the Annapolis State House, according to Ridgely,⁸ consisted of Daniel Dulany, Thomas Johnson, John Hall, William Paca, Charles Carroll Barrister, Lancelot Jacques and Charles Wallace. As the names are not listed in alphabetical order, it is probable that the chairman of the committee was Daniel Dulany who added to his activities as a distinguished lawyer and merchant those of a land speculator on a large scale. He laid out Frederick Town, now Frederick, in 1745.⁹ It was at first largely settled by German immigrants already in Maryland and Pennsylvania. But Dulany wanted direct immigrations, mainly in order to have buyers for his enormous land holdings around Frederick. To this end he

⁸ Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis*, pp. 145-146.

⁹ Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 180; Eddis, *Letters from America*, letter VII.



Schlossturm. Author's Photo.

circulated in the Rhineland a round-robin by Germanic settlers testifying to the richness of the soil, and praising his own kindness to immigrants.

Did one of those who responded to Dulany's blandishments, or a later immigrant from the Rhineland, bring with him a sketch of the Karlsruhe palace and its tower, or a copy of the large engraving of the palace, tower and surrounding grounds dated 1730? It seems more likely that the engraving and a drawing brought by a subsequent arrival influenced the Annapolis dome. For in 1785, the Court architect W. J. Muller took twelve meters from the top of the Karlsruhe tower, including three bulbous sections, and suppressed altogether the two small repeating lanterns on the body of the palace. The familiar turnip shape of the main element of the tower was



Schlossturm. Author's Photo.

replaced with a gently curving dome. This was done in the name of classicizing the formerly frankly baroque appearance of the tower and palace.

The Annapolis dome is in its proportions like the original Karlsruhe tower. Possibly its more classical feeling is a result of the universal trend of architectural styles rather than the influence of the altered Schlossturm. Yet the arched windows below the architrave in Annapolis, one with the lower part closed, are like the windows below the architrave in Karlsruhe, in all of which the lower parts are closed. The horizontal oval windows below the main curving section of the dome in Annapolis resemble the vertical ovals in the equivalent part of the Karlsruhe tower. The small square windows above the balustrade in Annapolis are almost identical with those below the architrave in Karlsruhe. And the balustrades and the architraves themselves in both buildings are similarly placed.

In view of the many similarities of details and of general form, it is hard to believe there is not a connection between the two buildings. Even the Chinese-like curve to the roof of the portion of the State House Dome surrounded by the balustrade might have been inspired by the roof of the Chinese pavilion in the former *faisanderie* of the palace grounds.

THE BALTIMORE THEATRE AND THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC

BY DAVID RITCHEY

ONE of Baltimore's most successful theatre seasons began in the spring 1793, before the outbreak of the first yellow fever epidemic in the city, and extended into the fall when early frosts ended the attack of the dread disease. Perhaps because Baltimore audiences were without theatrical activity for over a year, until the spring and summer of 1793, this season began as one of the brightest and gayest in Baltimore's history.

William Godwin, who managed the theatre in Baltimore in 1793, appeared in that city a year earlier for a series of solo performances, *A Theatrical Bouquet*, on March 30 and April 3, 1792. Having first appeared on the stage in Philadelphia in 1766, Godwin had been a member of the prestigious American Company playing in the colonies and in Jamaica. After the American Revolution, Godwin and a partner opened the first theatre in Savannah in 1785 and a year later he supervised the building of a new theatre in Charleston.¹ Having attempted to establish permanent theatres in these cities, Godwin made the same effort in Baltimore in 1793.

Stories of the yellow fever epidemic provide a macabre setting for the theatre season of 1793. In Baltimore survivors related tales of epidemic contractors receiving three dollars per corpse for burying the dead in common graves, of coffins brought to the sick-room in order to hastily dispose of the victim and to avoid contaminating the living, and of yellow fever victims interred alive.² These gruesome stories proliferated from an epidemic which seasonally plagued the area between 1793 and 1812. The Maryland Company developed in this setting.

Managed by William Godwin and Christopher Charles McGrath, the Maryland Company of about twenty performers played about twenty-eight performances in the New Theatre in Baltimore between April and September 20, 1793. Godwin opened the New Theatre, which had been built by Lewis Hallam in 1786, with McGrath, a performer he had known in Charleston in 1786. McGrath has also been remembered as the author of the words for the original "Hail, Columbia."³

The managers undertook to present an ambitious season of plays. Since Godwin had the reputation in Charleston for producing the most formidable

¹ Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, 1924), p. 144.

² Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors 1783-1860* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 19.

³ Willis, *Charleston Stage*, p. 133.

plays in his language,⁴ he may have been responsible for selecting many of the same plays for production in Baltimore. Godwin's repertoire included mostly eighteenth-century English comedies⁵ (*She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, *School for Scandal*), an occasional Shakespearean tragedy (*Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet*), and three American plays, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast*, William Dunlap's *The Father*, and John Henry's *A School for Soldiers*. The management obviously took great pride in Shakespearean productions or knew that Shakespeare's plays drew large audiences, for except in one instance, only announcements for Shakespeare's plays and their afterpieces carried cast lists, *Richard III*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret*. Lewis Hallam, the younger, a prominent eighteenth-century actor, performed with the company for at least two performances in June. On one evening he played the title role in *Richard III* and on another evening, "delivered Shakespeare's admired PIECE, on the SEVEN AGES OF MAN." Hallam did not perform in Baltimore during the remainder of the Maryland Company's engagement and no other "star" performers visited the company for brief engagements.

Besides Godwin and McGrath, Mr. and Mrs. Solomon seem to have been the only other performers of the company who were professional actors. Although Solomon had acted professionally before, appearing with Godwin in Charleston in 1787, his wife seems to have made her stage debut in this engagement. Solomon usually played mostly supporting roles this season, but his regular appearance in the farces indicate his forte in comedy roles such as Sir John Overrule (*The Devil to Pay*). Solomon's wife, the company's leading actress in comedy and tragedy, played Lady Anne (*Richard III*), Juliet (*Romeo and Juliet*), and Jessica (*The Merchant of Venice*).

One of the company's managers, Godwin, played the leading male in comedy and tragedy, Shylock (*The Merchant of Venice*), Romeo (*Romeo and Juliet*), and Don Felix (*The Wonder!*). The other manager, McGrath, usually appeared in supporting roles in the farces and in minor roles in the serious plays. The other performers usually played minor roles, occasionally rising to play a supporting or a major role in a farce.

In addition to performing about seventeen company benefits, on July 19, 1793, the players performed a benefit for about 1,500 French sufferers,⁶ who had left Santa Domingo because of a race war and settled in Baltimore with their remaining slaves in 1793.⁷ The race war represented the Negroes coming to power briefly and massacring the French white slave owners

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

⁵ *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore). Announcements of performances and cast lists are recorded in *The Maryland Journal*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, July 19, 1793.

⁷ *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State*, Compiled by the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Maryland (New York, 1940), p. 52.

who had set the standard of atrocities with torture and inhumane treatment of the slaves. Many of the slave owners followed the economic theory that to work a slave to death and to replace him with a new one was more reasonable than keeping a slave healthy and alive. When the Negro chieftain Jeannot came to power, he retaliated by forcing parents to watch their young daughters raped, by sawing men between boards, and by having others maimed, while he drank human blood mixed with tafia.⁸ No record exists of the success of the benefit for the French slave owners able to escape to Baltimore with their slaves. The managers, however, appear to have promoted large box office receipts by doing away with the "Distinction in the Price of Tickets" and charging one dollar admission for any seat in the house.⁹

The Maryland Company seemed plagued by unfortunate accidents during the 1793 engagement. Godwin celebrated his recovery from a lameness by announcing that on August 13, he would deliver the "Epilogue, in character of Harlequin, with a leap through a Hogshead of Fire."¹⁰ Perhaps by that time, Godwin had not completely recovered or the leap through the hogshead of fire created another problem, for two weeks later the management postponed a performance of *Carmelite* because Godwin had not recovered "from his very painful illness."¹¹

Not only did Godwin's health problems plague the Maryland Company, but also early American ventilation problems forced the postponement of other performances. In order to circulate the air in the theatre and consequently to alleviate "the inconvenience of extreme Heat," the management altered the windows "above and below" so that air might easily pass through the theatre and so that if the weather required, the windows might be closed.¹² Perhaps the windows were left open and the scenery suffered from weather conditions because the management announced another postponement of a performance because of the "*Dampness of the Weather . . .*" so directly against the *new Paintings*."¹³ Over all these problems hung the ever present fear of yellow fever. In addition to these problems, the company apparently suffered depletion of its forces, for manager Christopher Charles McGrath announced in *The Maryland Journal*, "that until the expected REINFORCEMENT of the MARYLAND COMPANY arrives, the Theatre is closed."¹⁴ Apparently the reinforcements never arrived, for the company never re-opened the theatre.

⁸ Samuel Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present; With a Glance at Hayti* (New York, 1873), pp. 113-132.

⁹ *Maryland Journal*, July 19, 1793.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1793.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, September 4, 1793.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 21, 1793.

¹³ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1793.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1793.

Godwin's performances of *A Theatrical Bouquet* in the spring of 1792 may have encouraged his considering the establishment of a resident acting company in Baltimore. Perhaps because of his experience in building theatres and attempting to establish acting companies in other cities, Godwin knew he faced less financial risk establishing a permanent theatre in Baltimore, because the availability of Hallam's New Theatre nullified the need to build another theatre building. His addition of windows to the theatre and the addition of new scenery indicate Godwin's interest in performing more than one engagement in Baltimore.

Godwin did not establish a resident acting corps in Baltimore for one of two reasons: theatre historian G. O. Seilhamer alludes to one possible reason, an argument between the managers which ended in Godwin's leaving the company for Annapolis.¹⁵ But, the yellow fever epidemic was the more likely reason for the termination of the engagement and the dream of a permanent acting company in Baltimore. The fever posed a threat not only to the audiences, but to the managers and the players and perhaps drove them to leave Baltimore for Annapolis. Consequently, despite a remodeled theatre building, excellent scripts, and experienced leading performers, this attempt at establishing a permanent theatre in Baltimore failed because of the yellow fever epidemic.

¹⁵ G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1888-1891), III, p. 9.

THE HUNDREDS OF WASHINGTON COUNTY

BY JEFFREY A. WYAND

THE Proprietary of Maryland, like all its neighboring proprietors, chose to provide efficient local government by dividing the Colony into counties, which were further subdivided into districts called hundreds. This heirarchy was borrowed from England where counties had displaced shires as the major governmental subdivision beginning in the fifteenth century; but the hundreds, an artifact of Old English times, endured. The district called a hundred is of obscure origin and may have furnished one hundred warriors to its host, been an area in which one hundred warriors settled, or consisted of sufficient land to support one hundred free families.¹

In Maryland, the definition of the hundred seems similarly vague, though the development of the system of hundreds clearly followed the population trends. In eighteenth century western Maryland the county court appointed the officers of the hundred: a constable and the overseers of the roads. The constable was charged with keeping the peace, delivering up the accused who were free on bond, and carrying out other orders of the court. The overseer impressed labor from among the local taxables to keep the main roads within his district, which was not necessarily an entire hundred, in good repair.² These *in situ* officials, especially in the isolated back country, constituted the principal grass roots connection between the settlers and the central authorities.

In western Maryland the South Mountain, formerly called the Shenandoah Mountain, formed a natural division line from the first institution of hundreds totally beyond it in 1739, to the erection of Washington County on September 6, 1776.³ No such topographical feature defined a western border so sharply, and Sideling Hill Creek was arbitrarily selected as the western border of Washington County when Allegany County was erected on December 25, 1789.⁴

By 1739 a sufficient number of settlers had taken up residence beyond the Shenandoah Mountain for the Prince George's County justices to define Antietam and Conococheague Hundreds.⁵ The difficulties the widely dispersed pioneers west of the Conococheague Creek experienced in the dis-

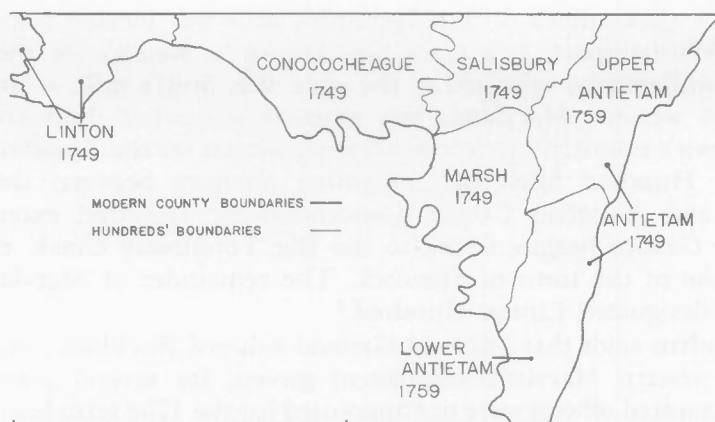
¹ "Shire," and "Hundred," *The Oxford English Dictionary*, (Oxford, 1933).

² Louise Joyner Hinton, "The Hundreds of Prince George's County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (Spring, 1970), pp. 55-67.

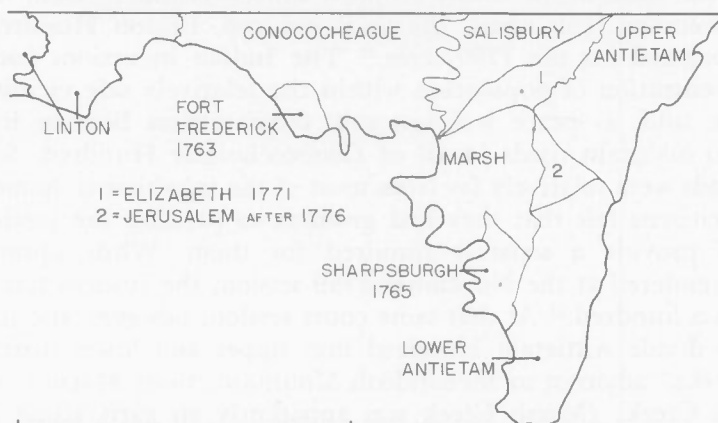
³ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, (Philadelphia, 1882), II, p. 977.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1344.

⁵ Hinton, "Hundreds," p. 58.



'WASHINGTON COUNTY' HUNDREDS 1749-1763



'WASHINGTON COUNTY' HUNDREDS 1763-1800

Author's Drawings.

charge of their "publick Duties" led the Prince George's County justices to designate all that area as "Connoloway" Hundred in March 1744.⁶

At the first session of the new Frederick County Court in March 1749, the hundreds beyond the Mountain were reorganized into five new precincts. "Antietum" Hundred included all that area between the Shenandoah Mountain and the Antietam Creek. The boundaries of Marsh Hundred, named for the large savannah included within its bounds, ran "... from the mouth of Andietum to the Mouth of Conococheque and up that to

⁶ Prince George's County *Court Record*, Liber CC, f 293, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Vulgamots Mill and from thence with the road that Leads from Volgamots to Stulls." (Volgamot's or Wohlgemuth's mill was located not far above modern Williamsport, at a place now known as Kemp's for the last of a series of millers who operated at the same site. Stull's mill, a landmark in provincial western Maryland, was situated somewhat downstream from Hagerstown's municipal power generating station on the Antietam Creek.)⁷ Salisbury Hundred filled the remaining territory between the Conococheague and Antietam Creeks. Conococheague Hundred extended west from the Conococheague Creek to the Big Tonoloway Creek, east of the present site of the town of Hancock. The remainder of Maryland to the west was designated Linton Hundred.⁸

The Indian raids that followed General Edward Braddock's one-way trip through western Maryland eliminated growth for several years. In fact, Linton Hundred officers were not appointed for the 1758 term because, as the clerk noted, there were no longer any inhabitants in that Hundred.⁹ Further, the clerk of the Court dropped Linton Hundred from his records until November 1759 when, the peril reduced, Linton Hundred officials were appointed for the 1760 term.¹⁰ The Indian incursions had resulted in a concentration of population within the relatively safe vicinity of Fort Frederick, and, as peace was restored, these settlers became irritated at having to maintain roads in all of Conococheague Hundred. Some parts of the roads were relatively far from most of the inhabitants' homes and the aroused citizens felt that they had grounds to petition the justices of the cunty to provide a separate hundred for them. While approving the petition tendered at the November 1759 session, the justices failed to provide such a hundred.¹¹ At that same court session, however, the justices did see fit to divide Antietam Hundred into upper and lower districts, from "Mat Clarks," adjacent to Shenandoah Mountain, along Marsh Creek to the Antietam Creek. (Marsh Creek was apparently an early name for Little Beaver Creek. Matthew Clark lived on a tract of land along the Mountain between current U.S. route 40 and Greenbrier State Park.)¹² Linton Hundred was truncated at Fifteen Mile Creek, the area beyond that, now more densely settled, being designated Old Town Hundred.¹³

By 1763 the inhabitants of the Fort Frederick area had become even more

⁷ Frederick County Patented Certificate of Survey #3444, "Resurvey on Freestone"; Prince George's County Patented Certificate of Survey #2310, "Whisky with First and Second Additions." Hall of Records, Annapolis. Land plots of the author, unpublished.

⁸ Frederick County *Judgment Record*, Liber A, f 20,21, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁹ Frederick County *Court Minutes 1750-1757*, November session 1757, f 3 of that session, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁰ Frederick County *Court Minutes 1758-1762*, f 2, 62, 74, 92, 122.

¹¹ Frederick County *Judgment Record*, Liber H, f 1112.

¹² Frederick County Patented Certificate of Survey #3399, "Resurvey of Discontent." Land plots of the author, unpublished.

¹³ Frederick County *Court Minutes 1758-1762*, f 121.

irritated. In a stronger petition presented at the March session of the court, they complained that they "... Lays under a great Disadvantage by reason of our hundred being so Large and Extensive that it is a Burden too Great for anyone person to undertake to keep all the roads in our hundred in Good repair. . . ." ¹⁴ The justices relented and at the November session in the same year they drew lines "... from the Green Spring run to the Mouth of Lickin Creek and up Lickin Creek to Lains run from thence across to the head of Green Springs. The hundred to be Called Fort Frederick." ¹⁵

The growth of the first town west of the Mountain was not without tumultuous events and at the November 1765 session of the court, "Sundry of the Inhabitants in and about Sharpsburgh Town . . ." asked for a constable "... to Supress any Misbehaviours. . . ." The court acceded, separating Sharpsburgh Town Hundred from "... the Marsh Hundred from Antietam Bridge with the road to the Bridge on the Marsh by Chrisley Eversoles. . . ." ¹⁶ The Antietam Bridge was located at the span now called Hitts after a former nearby miller. Christian Eversole lived near the intersection of the Marsh Creek with the Bakerville-Keedysville Road. ¹⁷

The rise of Hagar's town occasioned the last division to take place before Washington County was erected. At the November 1771 session, the justices carved Elizabeth Town Hundred from Salisbury Hundred "... by the Road from Watkins Ferry by Capt Hagars dwelling Plantation to John Scotts on the Province Line . . . the lower part to be named Elizabeth Town Hundred." ¹⁸ The borders of this hundred probably consisted of a series of roads which have partially vanished. It appears that the extant roads are the Hopewell Road, Long Meadow Road, and the precursor of Maryland route 60 which ran considerably to the north of the current route 60, intersecting the Antietam Creek very near the Maryland State line. ¹⁹ Evan Watkins' ferry was at the mouth of the Conococheague, modern Williamsport; Hagar's dwelling plantation was near the settlement of Bostetter, he having left Hagar's Fancy in 1739; and John Scott lived on a portion of Burketts Lot, near the State line. ²⁰

Only one more hundred was created in the area before the system was discarded. Like the later hundreds which were named for the settlements

¹⁴ Frederick County *Judgment Record*, Liber M, f 7.

¹⁵ Frederick County *Court Minutes 1763-1768*, November session 1763, f 9 of that session.

¹⁶ Frederick County *Judgment Record*, Liber M. f 596. Town was generally dropped from the titles of these hundreds in later references.

¹⁷ Frederick County Patented Certificate of Survey #3869, "Resurvey on Save All." Land plots of the author, unpublished. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, II, p. 1203.

¹⁸ Frederick County *Court Minutes 1770-1773*, f 233.

¹⁹ Washington County Land Records, Liber G, f 552.

²⁰ Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, "A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland, etc.," 1755. Frederick County Patented Certificate of Survey #1885, "Hegers Delight," Frederick County Patented Certificate of Survey #701, "Burketts Lot." Frederick County Land Records, Liber B, f 130.

they included, Jerusalem Hundred contained the town of Jerusalem or Funkstown. Washington County court records are not extant, but the borders of the Jerusalem Hundred were apparently the Old Hagerstown Road which passed Stull's mill, closely paralleling current U.S. route 40, the Little Beaver Creek, and the Antietam Creek.²¹

By establishing the Levy Court in 1794, the Assembly eliminated the need for overseers of the roads, replacing them with road supervisors. In 1798 and 1799 the Assembly provided for the establishment of election districts to replace the hundreds in 1800.²² Washington County was dutifully divided into five election districts with well-defined boundaries since, according to the Assembly, some of the roads which formerly separated hundreds were being closed as newer roads were being opened to replace them.²³

But like all political institutions, the hundred, even with its colonial connotations, died hard. In Washington County the tax collector still organized his records by hundreds in 1803, and the United States census of 1810 maintained the old system. Within but a few years more, however, the hundred became a political dinosaur.

²¹ Assessment Law Paper, November session 1803/4, (Washington County), on permanent loan to The Washington County Free Library, Western Maryland Room. Land plots of the author, unpublished.

²² Henton, "Hundreds," pp. 64, 66.

²³ Washington County Land Records, Liber N, f 54.

NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

BY NANCY G. BOLES, CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS

The Joseph Nathan Ulman Collection

TRADITIONALLY the strengths of the Maryland Historical Society's manuscript holdings have been in colonial and nineteenth century material. Prospective donors of twentieth century manuscripts have either not wanted to part with relatively recent items or felt their documents were too modern to be valuable or of interest to a historical society. We are trying to dispel this view—twentieth century history is a vibrant, mushrooming field, and the Society is deeply interested in collecting relevant correspondence, business records and diaries.

A giant step toward strengthening our holdings in twentieth century manuscripts was made possible earlier this year through the generous donation of the Joseph Nathan Ulman Collection (MS. 1914) by his children, Elinor Ulman and Joseph N. Ulman, Jr. Joseph N. Ulman (1878-1943) was an outstanding Baltimorean, a progressive judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore from 1924 until his death, a man vitally concerned with and involved in social, racial, and penological problems. This very detailed and complete collection gives through personal and business correspondence, case records, articles and speeches a fascinating picture of a compassionate and tireless champion of prisoners, blacks, and misguided youths.

Joseph N. Ulman spent his entire life in the city of his birth, Baltimore. He attended public schools, the Johns Hopkins University, and after receiving a Master of Arts and a law degree from Columbia, returned to Baltimore as a practicing attorney in 1901. His career as a corporate lawyer flourished but Joseph Ulman did not feel fulfilled. His deep concern about social injustice was heightened by the cases he was asked to argue for corporations against employees. Mr. Ulman gave vent to his social concerns during his leisure hours, filling posts on committees and organizations too numerous to list fully. Over the years he was president of a local settlement house, president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, treasurer of a state institution for delinquents, president of the Prisoners Aid Association, president of the Baltimore Urban League and later a member of its national board. He was chairman of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, director of the National Probation Association, and director of the Legal Aid Bureau of Baltimore. To cap his career he was appointed to the American Law Institute and made a member of the committee which dealt with juvenile delinquents.

In 1924 Joseph Ulman was appointed to the Supreme Bench of Balti-



Judge Joseph Nathan Ulman (1878-1943). *Maryland Historical Society.*

more—and it was here on the criminal court that he felt the greatest opportunity to apply his humanitarian, progressive concepts. In 1933 he wrote *A Judge Takes the Stand* which explained the processes of law for laymen and exemplified his views. Its popularity and his stature as a reform judge soon meant that he was contributing articles and book reviews to popular magazines like the *American Mercury* as well as legal and sociological journals. Judge Ulman became a sought after speaker for professional conferences, colleges, and civic groups.

To him, one of his greatest projects was the development of a probation system and a new interpretation of penology. Judge Ulman once summarized his view: "punishment as the mainspring of social action simply does not work. Instead we emphasize training and treatment. . . . We want a system in which individualization of treatment will be the keynote, the rehabilitation of the prisoner a primary aim, the protection of society the ultimate objective."

The extensive Ulman Collection in twenty-eight boxes gives a full picture of this public-spirited man and his times. Through his energetic, personable letters Joseph Ulman comes to life as he exuberantly describes a walk along alpine trails in Switzerland, defends his views about Zionism, discusses the widely publicized Duker case and the furor over capital punishment it aroused, or writes wistfully to his wife and children vacationing in Maine while he tends to his legal duties in sweltering Baltimore.

The record of Joseph Ulman's life and work, now housed at the Society, is full and complete. It begins with one of his early school composition books, written, it is carefully recorded, at age nine. His college career is well represented—there is a scrapbook of his Hopkins days, and nearly a dozen themes and addresses. Joseph Ulman's legal and judicial career is perhaps the most fully documented part of the collection. There are scrapbooks—one on his appointment and reappointments to the Supreme Bench and the congratulations that attended them, one on the controversial Duker case and the correspondence and newspaper articles it generated—and bound volumes of a rate case that was argued from the Public Service Commission to the Supreme Court. An outstanding part of the legal record is a forty volume set of notebooks detailing the cases tried before the Judge from 1924 to 1942. These manuscript books include a brief description of each case, witnesses's testimony, points of law, and verdict.

The next longest section of the collection—and it is fitting that it is extensive—concerns Joseph Ulman's reform interests. Included here are copies of his numerous articles, speeches, committee reports, newsclippings, a typescript of his book, *A Judge Takes the Stand*, and three scrapbooks of correspondence about the book and reviews.

There are two boxes of family correspondence—a large group written on two vacation trips to Europe, and letters to his family when they were in Maine and he in Baltimore—and one box of assorted business letters. Much of his professional correspondence is bound in various letterbooks and scrapbooks elsewhere in the collection.

The Ulman papers continue after the Judge's untimely death in 1943. There are several scrapbooks of obituary notices, letters of condolence, and Mrs. Ulman's correspondence. Of special interest too are the scrapbooks and correspondence of the Ulman Foundation, Inc., formed in 1944 to advance the work and reforms Judge Ulman championed.

The donors presented as well a large collection of photographs, two phonograph records of Joseph Ulman's voice, his gavel and other mementos. The comprehensive record of a prominent judge's professional career and civic and social concerns has been carefully preserved, generously donated to the Society, and thereby made available to scholars. The Joseph Nathan Ulman Collection offers students of sociology and twentieth century history a rich field for research and hopefully will inspire others to give their "modern" manuscripts to the Society.

ACCESSIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION SINCE
THE PUBLICATION OF *MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS*
OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN
AUGUST, 1968.

VI

Principio Company Papers (MS. 1730). Manuscripts relating to the Principio Company Iron Works in Cecil County and the acquisition of land in the Elk Neck area by George P. Whitaker, who purchased control of Principio, Principio Company accounts and papers, canal freights, agreements on railroad freight rates. Material on Whitaker Iron interests in West Virginia, etc.; 245 items, 1670-1913. Donor: Earl C. May.

Public Records Office Copies (MS. 1006). Copies made in 1876-83 by the Maryland Historical Society of Liber B, Public Records Office, London, for publication in vols. 5 and 8 of the *Archives of Maryland, Council Proceedings, 1676-87/8* and *1687/8-93*; 2 boxes [1676-93], 1876-83. Copied by Society staff.

Randall, Mrs. Alexander, Account Book (MS. 1182). Record of Mrs. Randall for the estate of her late husband. Contains copy of the will, 1880, accounts, 1883-97, showing income from mortgages and stocks, and income and expenditures of her Anne Arundel County farm; 1 vol., 1880-97. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Sr.

Randall, Richard H., Maritime Papers (MS. 1858). Randall's notes and typescripts used in his articles and books dealing with Chesapeake Bay Maritime history; 1 box, 1930-70. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Jr., from effects of R. H. Randall, Sr.

Revolutionary War Military Account Books (MS. 1777). List supplies for 1st-7th Regiments, Dorsey's Artillery, and the Maryland Line. Also accounts for the Annapolis Hospital; 2 vols., 1777-82.

Rhodes, Edward, Journals (MS. 1699). Transcripts of journals by Rhodes on the *Constant Friendship* (Captain William Wheather) to Maryland in 1671 and the *Baltimore* (Captain John Dunch) from England to Virginia, 1672-73; 2 vols., 1671-73. Donor: Not known.

Rieman Business Records (MS. 1879). Ledgers, daybooks, business correspondence of Daniel Rieman and Basil H. Warfield, sugar refiners; Yager & Rieman, merchants; Henry Rieman & Sons, provision merchants; 27 vols., 1807-1905. Donor: Joseph Rieman McIntosh.

Roberts, George C. M., Records (MS. 1801). Marriage and baptismal records of this Baltimore minister; 1 vol., 1828-68. Donor: Library of the Medical & Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland.

Rodgers Letters (MS. 1665). Primarily family correspondence of the Rodgers family of Harford County. One letter describes fitting out a frigate in New York; 7 items, 1808-40. Donor: Mrs. Henry Zoller, Jr.

Rost, Ida S., Scrapbook (MS. 1703). Typescript and printed poems of this Baltimore poetess and some related newspaper clippings; 1 vol., c.1931-58. Donor: Not known.

Rutland, Thomas, Letterbook (MS. 1726). Letters of this Annapolis merchant and shipper concerning shipping between his home and the West Indies and London, and his cargoes of corn, iron, tobacco, and slaves; 1 vol., 1784-87. Donor: Not known.

Sadtler, Philip B., Papers (MS. 1701). Papers of this German Baltimore jeweler include stock in the Baltimore and Reisterstown Turnpike, material on the 39th Regiment (the Baltimore Yagers), 1812-19, which he commanded, etc.; 18 items, 1804-58. Donor: Laura C. Sadtler.

St. Columba Lodge Credit Book (MS. 719.1). Lists members, dues paid, and expenses of this masonic lodge in Port Tobacco and La Plata; 1 vol., 1869-82. Donor: Not known.

Saint George's Society of Baltimore Records (MS. 1881). Minutes, newspaper clippings, etc. of the society formed in 1866 to afford relief and advice to indigent emigrants from England, Wales and the British Colonies. Restricted; 3 vols. to date, 1866-[1901] Open Ended. Donor: St. George's Society.

St. Mary's Church, Emmorton, Scrapbook (MS. 1738). Scrapbook of the history of this Harford County Episcopal Church including newspaper clippings and photographs of the building and all rectors; 1 vol., 1848-1963. Donor: Holden Rogers on behalf of St. Mary's Church.

St. Paul's Church Records (MS. 1727). Registers listing births, baptisms, marriages and deaths, 1710-1935. Restricted to typescripts in Library. Also vestry records including pew rents, minutes, accounts, letterbook, vestry elections and record of services; 24 vols., 1710-1935. Donor: St. Paul's Vestry.

Scharf Civil War Papers (MS. 1999.1). Pay, provision, clothing vouchers of Assistant Paymaster Edward McKean, C.S.N. at Shreveport, Louisiana, for the Confederate steamers *Missouri*, *Webb*, and *Cotton*; 200 items and 1 vol., 1863-64.

Schon, Carl, Inc. Papers (MS. 1829). Business papers of this Baltimore manufacturing jeweler including inventory, price lists, sales, account books, ledgers, gem record books, scrapbooks; 68 vols. and 1 box, 1920-60's. Donor: B. D. Nultz Co. which took over Schon's business.

Scott, Townsend, & Sons Records (MS. 1733). Record books of these Baltimore stockbrokers; 24 vols., 1845-98. Donor: Townsend Scott, Jr.

Scott, Dr. Upton, Letters (MS. 1722). Business and personal correspondence of this Anne Arundel County resident; 15 items, 1769-88. Purchase.

Semmes, Frances C., Diaries (MS. 1673). Personal diaries commenting on

Miss Semmes's life, Baltimore society, and the progress of World War II; 6 vols., 1924-43. Donor: Barr Harris.

Smith, Samuel, Collection (MS. 1790). Correspondence between Smith in his military or political capacity from many influential 18th and 19th century politicians, military figures and presidents. Some business letters, Smith's army and militia commissions, etc.; 49 items, 1776-1836. Donor: Mrs. Cary Fink Baynes.

Social Service Club of Maryland Minutes (MS. 1745). Constitution, by-laws, minutes, membership list of this Baltimore organization founded in 1906 to promote unity in philanthropic work; 2 vols., 1906-11. Donor: Not known.

Sprigg Family Papers (MS. 1783). Correspondence of the Sprigg family, letters from Michael Cresap, John Randolph of Roanoke and others, 1847 diary, land and legal papers, etc.; 3 vols. and 75 items, 1770-1893. Donor: Mrs. Loring A. Cover.

Stafford, Caroline E., Papers (MS. 1682). Financial and business papers of Mrs. Stafford of Baltimore, including insurance, property taxes, and bills relating to her estate; 50 items, 1853-92. Donor: Miss Sarah Stafford Cecil.

Steel, James—Harford County Roads Surveys (MS. 1649). Plats and notes of Harford County state roads surveys kept or collected by James Steel, surveyor. Mentions roads, names of towns, etc. Also included are the "Minutes on laying out the Baltimore and Harford Turnpike Road" (1816); 53 notebooks, 1795-1849. Donor: Not known.

Steele, Dr. Thomas Ramsay, Collection (MS. 1769). Diary and letters, 1853-54, including description of Cape Palmas, West Africa, and missionary work. Also other correspondence and information on his death; 5 items, 1849-54. Exchange.

Steuart Scrapbook (MS. 1631). Record of the Fifth Regiment, Maryland National Guard, compiled by Mary T. H. Steuart, for the period around Spanish American War when her son served; 1 vol., 1898-1903. Donor: Mrs. Richard H. Woodward.

Stevenson, John, Account Books (MS. 1662). Records and accounts of this merchant and shipmaster, accounts of the schooner *Echo* (Stevenson, Master), invoices of supplies shipped to Baltimore, ship repairs, etc.; and account of ships in trade with South America and Europe, listing ships stores, cargoes, payroll, etc.; 2 vols., 1821-36. Donors: Jack C. Hudson & Thomas Stevenson.

Strawbridge Methodist Church Records (MS. 1799). Parish registers, membership rolls, church minutes, treasurer's reports, correspondence and organization minutes. Also a typescript history of this Baltimore church; 15 vols. and c.260 items, 1843-1954. Donor: Rev. Mervin Gray, Minister of Strawbridge Church.

VITAL RECORDS ABSTRACTED
FROM THE FREDERICK-TOWN HERALD

1802-1815

Frederick-Town Herald.

FREDERICK-TOWN, (MARYLAND) PRINTED BY JOHN P. THOMSON, AT HIS OFFICE NEXT DOOR TO JOHN S. HALL'S TAVERN.

VOL. II.

SATURDAY, JULY 9th, 1803.

No. 56

BY ROBERT W. BARNES

1809

HENDERSON, Mr. John, died 15th inst., at his seat in Montgomery County, in his 40th year (28 Jan.).

BARRICK, Mrs. Margaret, wife of Col. Henry Barrick, died Thursday, 25th ult., in her 49th year, near Woodsborough. She leaves a husband and six children (4 Feb.).

SHELMERDINE, Mrs. Eunice, consort of Stephen Shelmerdine of this county, died Sunday last (18 Feb.).

HARRISON, Alexander Contee, Lieut. in the U. S. Navy, died Thursday morning last, in his 36th year. He entered the service of his country at the commencement of its naval establishment (18 Feb.).

POTTS, Miss Ann, daughter of the late Richard Potts, Esq., died Saturday last, aged 17 (Long obit follows). (18 March).

SHELMERDINE, Mr. Stephen, of this county, died Wednesday evening last. Only six weeks have elapsed since we announced the death of Mrs. Shelmerdine (1 April).

PURDY, William, of this county, died Tuesday, 2nd inst., aged 74 years. He was one of those patriots who stood forth in the times that try men's souls (6 May).

RAWLINGS, Col. Moses, formerly of this state, died Saturday last at his seat in Hampshire Co., Va. He was a patriot and a veteran of the Revolutionary army (Long obit follows). (13 May).

THOMSON, Mrs. Margaret, wife of John P. Thomson, of the *Frederick-Town Herald*, died Sunday, 7th inst., in her 27th year (13 May).

COCKEY, William, of Baltimore Co., and Catherine Groff, of Lancaster, were married Thursday evening, 25th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Shaeffer (3 June).

FRESHOUR, Capt. Adam, for many years an excellent peace officer, died Thursday last (3 June).

SALMON, Edward, died Friday morning, 30th ult., in his 63rd year, mathematical teacher in the academy of this place. For forty years he was an able and successful instructor of youth (8 July).

LITTLE, George, Esq., died in Marshfield (Conn.), Sunday evening last, aged 55, formerly Commander of the U.S. Frigate *Boston* (19 Aug.).

TRUMBULL, Governor, died at Lebanon, Conn., 7th inst. (19 Aug.).

SCOTT, George, formerly a resident of this town, died Saturday last at Boonsboro, Washington Co. (9 Sept.).

THOMAS, John Hanson, of Md., and Miss Mary I. Colston, daughter of Raleigh Colston, of Berkeley Co., Va., were married Thursday evening, 5th inst., by Rev. Mr. Ballmain. (7 Oct.).

TYLER, Dr. William B., of Baltimore, and Harriett Murdock of this place, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. George Bower (21 Oct.).

HOFF, Mrs. Jane, consort of Abraham Hoff, of this place, died Sunday last, at an advanced age. (21 Oct.).

LEVY, Jacob, of this town, died Tuesday last (21 Oct.).

PEARL, William, Jr., of Capt. Laurence's Company of Cavalry, died in New York. (Long obit gives details of death.) (28 Oct.).

OGLE, Joseph, and Elizabeth Valentine, of Frederick County, were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. Frederick Rahauser (4 Nov.).

MAYER, Rev. Lewis, formerly of Frederick-Town, and Miss Catherine Line, daughter of John Line of Shepperdstown, Va., were married at the latter place, 5th inst., by Rev. Mr. Raebenbach (11 Nov.).

DARNALL, Major Henry, of this county, died Monday, 13th inst., at Georgetown, at an advanced age (18 Nov.).

BUCKIE, Mrs., died Saturday morning last, in her 59th year (18 Nov.).

KOLB, Mrs. Catherine, died Monday morning, in her 72nd year (18 Nov.).

RAHAUSER, Rev. Frederick, of Emmitsburg, and Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Daniel Wagner of this place, were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. Jonathan Rahauser (25 Nov.).

MILLER, Gottlieb, died Saturday last, at an advanced age, in Frederick. (25 Nov.).

HAUER, Nicholas, died on Tuesday (25 Nov.).

THOMAS, Gabriel, died Saturday morning last, near Frederick, in his 26th year, of consumption (2 Dec.).

JOHNSON, Col. James, died at his seat in this county, on Sunday last, in his 74th year. He was active during the Revolutionary War. (Long obit.). (9 Dec.).

KELLER, Adam, died Sunday last, in this town (9 Dec.).

ENGLE, Mr. Silas, and Miss Mary Hauer, were married Thursday evening last by Rev. Mr. Shaffer (16 Dec.).

SMITH, Charles, died in Carroll's Manor, 16th inst., in his 22nd year, the eldest son (of six children) of Capt. John Smith, who died about five years ago (23 Dec.).

1810

DELASHMUTT, Mrs. Mary Winifred, aged 16, wife of Trammell Delashmutt, died 26th Dec. (13 Jan.).

MCCULLY, Mrs., relict of the late Mr. Robert McCully of this place, died Tuesday night last (27 Jan.).

RATHBONE, Mrs. Eunice, wife of John Rathbone, merchant of New York, died suddenly, Saturday evening last. Her daughter had just been married. "New York Gazette" of 31 Jan. (10 Feb.).

THOMPSON, John C., of Georgetown and Miss Margaret Hadden of this place, were married Sunday evening last in this town by Rev. Daniel Wagner (3 March).

BROOKS, Benjamin, of Saybrook, and Laura Spencer; Justin Russell of Hebron and Eunice Plumb; Amasa Pratt of Saybrook, and Rachel Harvey; Mr. Nathan Scovel and Phebe Ackley; Thomas Swan and Luna Emms; Samuel Gilbert, II, of Hebron, and Ann Goodspeed; Edward C. Dodge, and Ursula Willey; Israel S. Comstock and Lucy Spencer; Mr. Wells Anderson and Dorothy Beckwith; and

Roswell Rogers, II, of East Haddam, and Nancy Beckwith—the whole of the rising generation were married at East Haddam on 1st Jan. From the "Connecticut Mirror" (3 March).

POTTS, Mary, daughter of William Potts, died Wed. evening at The Retreat, in her 19th year. (Long obit follows). (3 March).

M'GRAW, Mrs. Margaret, died in this town, Friday, 23 Feb., aged 36; she was interred in the R. C. burying ground (3 March).

DORSEY, Vachel Worthington, and Mary, daughter of Basil Dorsey, all of this county, were married Thursday last, by Rev. Mr. Higgins (7 April).

CLAGGETT, William, Esq., Assoc. Judge of the 5th Judicial District of this state, consisting of Washington, Frederick, and Allegany Counties, died at Hagerstown, 25th ult. (7 April).

STECKELL, Charlotte, wife of Solomon Steckell, of this town, died Tuesday evening last, leaving a husband and six little ones (Long obit follows). (14 April).

NICHOLL, George, of this county, died Wednesday last, in his 65th year. (14 April).

COLEGATE, Dr. George, and Mary M'Cannon, daughter of James M'Cannon of this county, were married Thursday, 12th inst., by Rev. Mr. Ryland. (21 April).

JAMES, Mrs., consort of Major Daniel James, of this county, died 11th inst. (21 April).

WASHINGTON, General William, died at Sandy Hill, 16th inst. (Long obit follows). "Charlestown, S.C., 26 March." (21 April).

STEVENS, Thomas, and Elizabeth Graybell, were married Sunday last, by Rev. Mr. Shaffer (28 April).

MCELDERRY, Mrs. Mary, died 19th inst., in her 83rd year (28 April).

BEALL, Mrs. Mary, wife of William M. Beall, died Thursday evening last. (28 April).

BARGMAN, Henry, and Margaret Champer, all of this county, were married Sunday last, by Rev. James L. Higgins (5 May).

BUCKEY, John, and Susan Hauser, daughter of Michael Hauser, all of this town, were married Tuesday evening last by Rev. Daniel Wagner (12 May).

BEALL, William M., Jr., and Fanny McCleary, daughter of Henry McCleary, were married Tuesday evening by Rev. P. Davidson (12 May).

BAER, Dr. Jacob, of Frederick-Town, and Charlotte Chinoweth, daughter of Samuel Chinoweth of Berkeley Co., Va., were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. Lewis Mayer (26 May).

CRUM, Mr. William, of this town, died Thursday morning, at an advanced age (30 June).

SCHAEFFER, Rev. David F., of Frederick-Town, and Eliza, daughter of Mr. George Krebs of Philadelphia, were married 28th of last month in Phila., by Rev. Dr. Helmuth (7 July).

SPRIGG, Capt. Thomas, an old Revolutionary soldier, of this county, died Tuesday last (14 July).

PYFER, Mrs., consort of Philip Pyfer, of this town, died Tuesday last (14 July).

ADDISON, Mrs. Lucy, widow of the late Col. John Addison of Pr. Geo. Co., died Wednesday evening last, at the house of her son-in-law, Dr. William Tyler, of this town (28 July).

ANDERSON, Dr. Edward Henry, and Catherine Priscilla Morris of this place, were married Monday, 23rd ult., by Rev. David F. Schaeffer (4 August).

BLACQUIRE, William, of the 49th Regt., and Violet Woods, were married in St. Johns, Lower Canada (25 August).

WEAVER, Capt. Joseph, and Kitty Spinner, of Milford Twp., Bucks Co., Penna., were married 18th ult. (25 August).

STORY, William, and Lydia S. Morris, were married at Norwalk, Conn. (25 August).

JOHNSON, Baker, Jr., of Frederick Co., and Hannah Sophia Grundy, daughter of George Grundy of Baltimore, were married in Baltimore, Tuesday last, by Rev. Mr. Beasley (6 October).

THOMAS, Rebecca, relict of Notley Thomas, died Saturday last at her residence near this place, in her 82nd year (20 October).

SMITH, David, died at Baltimore, Thursday morning last, after a long illness, in his 35th year (20 Oct.).

M'GOWAN, Terrence, of Baltimore, and Peggy Baltzell of this place were married Sunday evening last, by Rev. Mr. Mallavay (3 Nov.).

HARRISON, Kitty, relict of the late Alexander Contee Harrison of the U.S. Navy, died Saturday morning at the house of Gen. Nelson of this town. The next day her remains were removed to Conewago, York Co., Penna. (3 Nov.).

BEATTY, Lewis Augustus, and Sarah Augustus Gist, both of this county, were married Thursday evening, 1st inst., by Rev. Mr. Jones (10 Nov.).

BAER, John, of Henry, of this place, and Catherine Shriver of Adams Co., Penna., were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. Mr. Grubb (10 Nov.).

POTTS, Robert, youngest son of William Potts, Sr., of Frederick Co., died in this town, Monday last, aged 21 (10 Nov.).

MILLER, Mr. C. C., and Miss Anna M. Conradt, all of this town, were married Sunday last by Rev. David Shaffer (17 Nov.).

SCHNARTZELL, George, died in this town, at an advanced age, on 22nd ult. (1 Dec.).

WISE, Jacob, died 24th ult. (1 Dec.).

MILLER, Major Jacob, died 25th ult., in his 85th year (1 Dec.).

STONE, E. R., Esq., died 26th ult. (1 Dec.).

STILLY, John, and C. Stally, daughter of John Stally, were wed Thursday, 5th ult., by Rev. Mr. Craver (8 Dec.).

KING, William R., and Miss Eleanor Thomas, daughter of Edward Thomas, were married Tuesday, 27th ult., by Rev. Mr. Bower (8 Dec.).

POWELL, Thomas, and Mrs. Gunnell, were married Tuesday evening, 27th ult., by Rev. Mr. Mallavay (8 Dec.).

MAHANY, John, and Miss Susan Lantz, both of this county, were married Sunday last, by Rev. D. Schaffer (8 Dec.).

HICKSON, Henry H., and Mary Crapster, daughter of John Crapster, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. A. Grubb (8 Dec.).

BEATTY, Capt. John Michael, and Charlotte, daughter of Levi Hughes, both of this county, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. Schaffer (8 Dec.).

WHIP, George, and Susan Cast, all of this county, were wed Thursday evening last, by Rev. Mr. Craver (8 Dec.).

PIGMAN, Mrs. Nancy, died Sunday evening last, in her 75th year. (long obit.) (22 Dec.)

DORSEY, Ely, Jr., and Sarah, daughter of Major Roger Johnson, were married 18th inst., by Rev. Mr. Chandler. The groom was of Baltimore Co., and the bride was from this county. (29 Dec.)

WAGNER, Rev. Daniel, formerly Pastor of the German Reformed Church of this place, died at York, Penn., on the 17th inst., in his 65th year. (29 Dec.)

1811

SMITH, John Hamilton, of this county, died suddenly, 22nd ult., in his 38th year. (5 Jan.)

FOUT, Daniel of this county, died Monday morning last, in his 40th year. (19 Jan.)

DUVALL, Samuel, Esq., County Surveyor, died in this town, on Thursday morning last. (19 Jan.)

HILLARY, Mr. Perry, and Ann, daughter of John Johnson, all of this county, were married 17th inst., by the Rev. George Bower. (26 Jan.)

GREEN, Samuel, postmaster of Annapolis, and one of the editors of the *Maryland Gazette*, died in Annapolis, on Sunday, 6th inst. (26 Jan.)

GREEN, Frederick, printer to the State of Maryland, and brother of the late Samuel Green, died at Annapolis, on Sunday, 12th inst. (26 Jan.)

M'KALEB, Mrs. Mary, died at Taneytown, on Monday evening, 11th inst., age 75 years. (2 March)

BAER, Mrs. Charlotte, wife of Dr. Jacob Baer, died Thursday, 7th inst., in her 20th year. (9 March)

HOUCK, Mr. Jacob, and Miss Elizabeth Trisler, all of this town, were married Tuesday, 26th ult., by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (6 April)

CROMWELL, John C., of Washington Co., and Miss Harriott Stitcher of this county, were married Thursday, 28th ult., by Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (6 April)

TITLOW, John, and Miss Margaret Fogler, of this town, were married Tuesday last, by Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (6 April)

POTTS, Richard, Esq., and Miss Ann L. Murdoch of this town, were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. George Bower. (13 April)

MARSH, Joel, and Miss Elizabeth Mills, of this town, were married the same evening by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (13 April)

M'PHERSON, Mr. John B., and Miss Catherine Lenhart, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. P. Davidson. (27 April)

BARTGISS, Matthias E., and Miss Margaret Dertzbach, daughter of John Dertzbach, of this town, were married Tuesday evening last by Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (27 April)

SUTTON, Mrs. Mary, died 22 Jan., of Bladen Co., N.C., aged 116 years. She was a native of Culpeper Co., Va., and had five sons and seven daughters, all now living. Her descendants amount to 1492. At 52, her eyesight failed her, but returned again at 76, as good as ever, and continued until 98, then it failed again to her death. She has been at the births of 1121 children. (27 April)

BUCKEY, Jacob, of Frederick-town, and Maria M. Spangler, of Poplar Grove, York Co., Penna., were married at the latter place, Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Guistweite. (4 May)

ONION, Mrs. Rachel, died at the residence of Rev. Jonathan Forrest of this county, on 30th April, last, aged 101 years. She had been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church about 33 years. She outlived all her children but two, and was the mother-in-law of Mr. Forrest. (1 June)

SCHLEY, Capt. George Jacob, died Monday, 27th ult., in his 72nd year, a resident of this place. (1 June)

WHITE, Mrs., died Monday last, the consort of Capt. Nicholas White of this place. (1 June)

REITZELL, Mr. John, and Miss Catherine Salmon, were married on Tuesday, 28th ult., by the Rev. Frederick Rauhauser. (8 June)

BOYD, Mr. David, and Miss Mary Neixsel, were married Thursday, 30th ult., by the Rev. David Martin. (8 June)

STECKEL, Mr. Solomon, and Miss Mary Doll, all of this town, were married Sunday last, by the Rev. John Welch. (8 June)

BERGER, Mr. Henry, and Miss Eleanor Davis, were married Sunday evening last, by the Rev. David Martin. (15 June)

KERSHNER, Mr. Joseph, and Mrs. Rebecca Crum, were married Tuesday evening, by the Rev. John Welsh. (15 June)

JOHNSON, Col. Baker, of this town, died Tuesday morning last. He was a native of Calvert Co., but immigrated early in life to Frederick, where he entered into the profession of law. He marched at the head of his regiment to cooperate with the patriot bands of his county during the American Revolution. He had attained his 64th year; an age after which life has little to promise, besides feebleness and Infirmary, imbecility, and disease. (long obit). (22 June)

EATON, Gen. William, the hero of Derne, died at Brimfield, Mass. (22 June)

CHASE, The Hon. Samuel, associate judge of the supreme court of the United States, a patriot of 1776, and one of the most eminent citizens of this state, died in the night of 17th inst. (29 June)

GAITHER, Col. Henry, died at George-town (Col.), on the 22nd inst., in his 61st year. This valuable man was among the few remaining officers of the revolu-

tionary army. He (had been) in every battle (Monmouth excepted) fought by the American army. (29 June)

RIDGELY, Henry, Esq., Associate Judge of the third judicial district of Maryland, died at his seat on Elkridge, Anne Arundel Co. (29 June)

HAUSER, Mr. Frederick, and Miss Sophia Thomas, both of this county, were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (3 Aug.)

LITTLEJOHN, George, Jr., and Miss Elizabeth Geysinger, both of this town, were married Sunday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Mallavey. (10 Aug.)

PARR, John, cabinet-maker, died 5th inst. He had left at Baltimore a wife and several children, whom he intended to remove to this place. (10 Aug.)

VEATCH, Hezekiah, Esq., of Montgomery Co., died Monday last, in the 66th year of his age. (5 Oct.)

HOOFF, Mrs. Margaret, died in this town, on Tuesday morning last in her 86th year. (5 Oct.)

SHELLMAN, Miss Margaret, daughter of Mr. Jacob Shellman, died Sunday 6th inst., in her 22nd year. (12 Oct.)

UPSHAW, Dr. William, died Saturday last, Surgeon of the United States Army. (New Orleans, 3 Sept.) (12 Oct.)

STEPHENS, Mr. Benjamin, and Miss Elizabeth Grimes, both of this county, were married Tuesday last, by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (19 Oct.)

HARRIS, Mr. William, and Miss Maria Wharfe, daughter of Mr. James Wharfe, of Emmitsburg, were married at that place, on Sunday last, by the Rev. John Dubois. (2 Nov.)

ZIMMERMAN, Mr. John, and Miss Rebecca Harr, daughter of Mr. John Harr, all of this county, were married Sunday evening last, at Creager's-town, by the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer. (2 Nov.)

RITTER, Mr. Adam, of George-town, Col., and Miss Catherine Martin, of this county, were married on Thursday evening, the 29th ult., by Rev. Mr. Helfenstein. (9 Nov.)

HAMMOND, Mr. Nathan, died Monday last, in his 80th year, a citizen of this county. (9 Nov.)

HENSEY, Dennis, sergeant in the Artillerists of the United States, died at New-Orleans, of the yellow fever. His friends are said to reside in this county. (16 Nov.)

PAINE, Robert Treat, Jr., aged 38, died at Boston, 13th inst. (23 Nov.)

DORSEY, Stephen B., of Anne Arundel Co., and Miss Harriet Sprigg, daughter of the late Capt. Thomas Sprigg, of this county, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. John Chandler. (21 Dec.)

FLEMING, Mr. Samuel, and Miss Elizabeth Reynalds, both of this county, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Helfenstein. (28 Dec.)

MILLER, Mrs. Catherine, relict of the late Major Jacob Miller, of this town, died 21st inst., in her 71st year. (28 Dec.)

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The First American: A Story of North American Archaeology. By C. W. Ceram.
(New York: Harcourt Brace Janovich, Inc., 1971. Pp. xvi, 357. \$9.95.)

For sheer entertainment, *The First American* is hard to beat: the writing is lively, the episodes judiciously selected and the details deftly drawn from fact, hearsay, and opinion. Ceram, who has written several other notable books on archaeology (e.g., *Gods, Graves and Scholars*), deals for the first time with the Americas. Ceram is a teller of tales with a scholar's sense of the important and a feature writer's appreciation of human interest.

The book is hard to characterize in a few words for it is a collection of tales, episodes, and facts arranged into five sections, each with a number of related chapters. Book One deals with the discovery of the New World and its early exploration; Book Two with archaeology itself: what it is, stratification, and dating methods. Book Three is devoted to discoveries in the Southwest and to their discoverers while Book Four has chapters on the Mound Builders of the Midwest along with chapters on Lost Continents and the Cardiff Giant tossed in as spice. The final book tells of the quest for the earliest remains of man in America and the *Epilogue* of Ishi, the "last wild Indian." Supplementing the text is a good collection of line drawings and photographs, and a bibliography listing the sources used in each chapter.

Ceram tells about American archaeology by giving special emphasis to the pioneers in the field. His theme is the search for an answer to the question, "who were the First Americans?" Consequently chapters on lost continents and the Cardiff Giant are not really out of place. Ceram also stresses the development of archaeology in North America, although one would not call this book a history of archaeology because it is both more and less than that. A historical review would have been more comprehensive and probably selected what we would later call important episodes. In his emphasis on the Southwest and in bringing in Vikings, Giants, and questionable finds, he both omits a great deal of history and brings to our attention the intellectual climate of the times. Thus while the American Goliath has done nothing to further archaeology, it illustrates the way people were thinking about archaeology and antiquity in the 1860's.

It is safe to say there is nothing in American archaeology to rival *The First American*. As an archaeologist I found the book enormously entertaining, not so much because of the details of archaeology which I already knew, but because of the miscellaneous information on the people who made archaeology what it is today. Ceram has made the pioneers of American archaeology live as no other author and my appreciation for his probable perception and accuracy about the dead is only enhanced when I read about those I know. Clearly this is a carefully wrought work but refreshingly it never betrays the vast research by lapsing into dull recitation.

As a professional archaeologist I can readily appreciate *The First American* but I imagine a lay reader will come away with a quite different appreciation.

He will not have gained a systematic review of American archaeology nor of its history. Instead he will have read a stimulating and entertaining book. If he is curious he can read works cited in the bibliography. I heartily recommend the book for those who wish to understand American archaeology and its controversial issues, and for those who delight in anecdotal biographies of great men and women. The person who wishes to learn about American archaeology must still turn to one of the more pedantic but no less scholarly professional reviews such as Willey's *An Introduction to American Archaeology*.

Rice University

FRANK HOLE

The Colonial American Jew, 1492-1776. By Jacob R. Marcus. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970. 3 vols. Pp. xxxiv, 1650. \$45.00.)

The Colonial American Jew supercedes the author's earlier two-volume study, *Early American Jewry* (1951, 1953). Unequalled in scope, the present work is much larger, more complete, and better documented than any other on this subject with which I am familiar. Ranging far beyond the original thirteen colonies to include Canada, the Caribbean islands, and settlements on the South American mainland, Professor Marcus displays mastery of a vast amount of research material in at least four languages, English, Hebrew, Yiddish, and Portuguese.

At first glance, it might seem foolish to lavish such attention on so small a subject. After all, there were never more than 500 Jewish families in any generation during the eighteenth century. At the most, there were only about 2500 individuals in the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. Inevitably, the work is repetitious, as the same persons keep recurring throughout the text. Perhaps there is too much detail. One might get the impression that the Gratzes and Frankes were a vast clan, but as it turns out, only a few persons suffice to bring honor to their respective families, as with the Minises, Sheftalls, Lopezes, Harts, and Seixases.

It is worth noting that throughout most of the colonial period, the Jewish communities on the Caribbean islands were more significant numerically and economically than those on the mainland. During the Dutch occupation of Brazil, 1630-54, the Jewish community was larger than that of the United States until the nineteenth century. Its spiritual leader was a fully-trained rabbi, more distinguished than any Jewish clergyman in the United States until the 1850s. There were almost as many Jews on Jamaica in 1750 as in all of the thirteen colonies.

Nevertheless, it was the struggling and originally impoverished mainland community that survived and prospered, while the others have disappeared. In the long run, as we know, the opportunities lay on the mainland.

The point the author makes, and it is worth emphasizing, is how eager the Jews were to be like everyone else, to live as their neighbors did, and to be in

the mainstream. Europeans who wrote of their travels to the colonies, such as Peter Kalm, all marveled that it was impossible to tell a Jew by looking at him. The Jews he saw were all dressed in the latest style without any sumptuary distinction. Whereas in Europe, Jews were restricted in most countries to designated residential areas, and excluded from certain occupations, in America they were free to roam and try their hand at everything. They were planters, merchants, artisans, craftsmen, common laborers, Indian scouts, and soldiers. One was even hanged as a common criminal. The only fields in which Jews were not active were the learned professions: law, medicine, scholarship, activities which contemporary stereotype considers typically Jewish.

In cities such as Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, a few Jews mingled in the highest social circles after they achieved economic status, the ultimate recognition being intermarriage, as in 1742 when Phila Franks eloped with Oliver De Lancey. Few could aspire to such a height, and if what Professor Marcus tells us of the young man is true, it is just as well. At any rate, when free to live as others, colonial Jews became like them, and even before the Revolution, were well on the road to assimilation.

Nevertheless bias did exist. Jews were never secure in their rights because nowhere could they hold office. Anti-Jewish prejudice was never far below the surface. Even so liberal a man as the Reverend Ezra Stiles could not overcome a traditional attitude. Stiles, a self-taught Hebrew scholar, developed a deep affection for the itinerant Palestine-born Rabbi Isaac Carigal who spent several months in Newport during 1773. They discussed theology, and after the rabbi's departure, they maintained a correspondence in Hebrew for several years until Carigal's death. Stiles, then president of Yale, requested that Aaron Lopez with other Jewish businessmen of Newport present a portrait of Carigal to the college, which they did. Yet, Stiles' diary contains many venomous comments about Jews, which is all the more surprising considering his many warm and cordial contacts with them. To set the record straight, Professor Marcus points out that Jews despite their disabilities and the prejudice against them, were "infinitely better off than the Catholics."

To this reviewer, the most interesting part of these volumes is the section devoted to specifically Jewish problems, the observance of the faith, the development of distinctive religious institutions, and the maintenance of a Jewish life in an alien environment. Here, of course, the problem was serious. With no properly trained rabbi permanently in the colonies, it was impossible to maintain the traditional standard of knowledge or observance. The laity were in complete control. A few immigrant Jews, educated in Europe, were occasionally able to perform a ceremony or draw up a Hebrew document such as a marriage contract, but they were primarily businessmen without the depth of learning necessary to fulfill a true rabbi's function. Gershom Mendes Seixas, the famous American-born hazzan of New York's Shearith Israel, was never a rabbi, although the Gentile community thought of him as such. He conducted services, delivered sermons, and performed marriages as if he were a trained rabbi, but at best his knowledge of Hebrew permitted him to read simple texts. He could not render judgments on esoteric points of Jewish law as a rabbi is supposed to.

Consequently, knowledge of faith and observance was superficial, little more than ceremonials, rituals, and obedience to the dietary laws. Most Jews preferred it that way. They did not want a real rabbi who would enforce the rules. Isaac Carigal might perhaps have stayed had either the New York or Newport congregations hired him. He was a distinguished cleryman, but there is no record that either synagogue tried to keep him, although the fact that his combined stay in both cities was so long would indicate that he was available. Eventually he left to take a pulpit on Barbados, where he died in 1777. (It was not until 1840 that an American synagogue hired a rabbi.)

One last point remains to be made. For many centuries anti-Semitic propaganda has painted a picture of Jews as parasites, of men who feed off others. As we know, persons who say these things are ascribing to others their own worst characteristics. Professor Marcus in this monumental work gives the lie to any who speak in this vein. Jews were just as much frontiersmen in the eighteenth century as any other group. They risked their lives and fortunes to build a new country.

By the 1760s the vast majority of Jews in the colonies had come to feel that they were primarily Americans, and like their Christian neighbors supported the movement for independence.

These three volumes are a tremendous mine of information, the capstone of a distinguished career.

Kent State University

HAROLD SCHWARTZ

Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland 1784-1789. Vol. LXXI, Archives of Maryland. Ed. by Aubrey C. Land. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970. Pp. xx, 349. \$7.50.)

Thirty-two years ago Charles Albro Barker wrote that the *Archives of Maryland* were "the best of the modern issues of colonial documents." His work, along with that of others including the editor of the present volume, Professor Aubrey C. Land, bears witness to the valuable material that has been made available by this project. Were there more efforts of this calibre and more archives like the Maryland Hall of Records, the early history of America would be far better understood.

In the current volume's introduction Professor Land provides an excellent survey of the project's history. He further outlines the extensive materials yet unpublished and reports on two important decisions made by the Publications Committee. After considering the needs of historians, the approaching bicentennial of the American Revolution, the requirements of time (and undoubtedly the availability of funds), the committee elected to discontinue the current Court Series and instead begin publication of the *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council*, the last volume of which appeared in 1931. The committee also decided to present these sources in a manner different from the earlier

volumes. Departing from past precedent the current volume contains only the Council proceedings and not the Council's correspondence. In the past these materials were interpolated—a process both difficult and never complete though the results were certainly valuable. There are few published Revolutionary War sources as exciting to read as the Council papers for those years. Undoubtedly this new procedure will disappoint some, but Professor Land presents a reasonable case for the decision and promises the eventual reproduction of the Council's entire correspondence.

The part of the *Journal* printed in this volume contains useful information on a variety of subjects, though as Professor Land writes, it is "stonily silent" on the tumultuous controversies of the 1780's. The passions are absent; the substance is there. Some shadows on the financial and property disputes are provided, and the official language coldly recognizes the adoption of a new Constitution for the United States. Numerous petitions tell us something of the unstable economic conditions that existed. More importantly, historians interested in the era's social and political structure certainly will examine the rich lists of Council appointments made for a variety of county positions. There are other uses for the volume, but what is most significant is the continued health and viability of this great publication project.

University of Maryland

RONALD HOFFMAN

Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752-1839. By Frank A. Cassell. (Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971. Pp. xiii, 283. \$15.00.)

The career of Samuel Smith paralleled that of his community—Baltimore—from the 1750's through the 1830's: meteoric and mercantile in the early years, both reached their apogee during the War of 1812 and then leveled off after the 19th century began in 1815. Many facets of American culture during the period were reflected in both careers: the separation of the rich mixture of 18th century life into various specialties; the transition from an aristocratic and private society to a democratic and public one; and the transformation of separated, sedentary, and localized 18th century communities into a 19th century national society by industrialization.

Smith reflected these trends because he recognized most, championed some, and warned against others; and, in a way, he fell victim to them. Launched into life by successful, Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian parents who were part of the emigration and immigration responsible for Baltimore's dynamic early development, Samuel was subsequently trained as a merchant, served in the Maryland militia, married into another mercantile family, and served two terms in the state legislature by 1792. Smith thus began his following forty year career in Congress as a member of 18th century America's urban, social elite.

These formative years shaped his vision as representative and senator. His

optimistic concern with reality, with the present and future, demonstrated the American character of the Early National Period at its best. Smith's concern with commercial reciprocity, a moderate tariff, facilitating the exportation of America's agricultural products, internal improvements, and a national banking system without branch banking reflected his own experience as well as that of Baltimore. Pragmatic rather than doctrinaire, he viewed political life as but a means to an end. It was his honesty and practicality which led him, for example, at the end of his career, to realize how commercial reciprocity had greatly injured American shipping interests, and to affirm the value of a national bank with branches.

Essentially two problems face Smith's biographer: seeing Smith's career in relation to the society in which he lived, and assessing Smith's historical importance. Mr. Cassell does neither. In the first instance, the slender research in primary sources accounts for the lack of much information about the wider society in which Smith lived. Occasionally, mis-information is derived from either incorrect inferences drawn from primary sources (p. 68, f. 30; p. 87, f. 41; p. 219, f. 18; p. 241, f. 22) or from secondary material (p. 90, f. 1; p. 104, no f.; p. 257, f. 6). This mis-information borders, however, upon a more serious weakness of the book: Mr. Cassell does not seem to understand the nature of late 18th and early 19th century society and its economy.

Two of the more important areas Mr. Cassell either fails to consider or considers incorrectly may be cited as examples. First, Smith represented Baltimore mercantile interests; he understood their foreign credit connections, their patterns and terms of trade—all of which were unique and not simply identical with other American seaports. Failing to appreciate Baltimore realities, Mr. Cassell misunderstands Smith's interests in commercial reciprocity and misses many subtleties underlying his political decisions (pp. 114-5; 212-3; 235-40). Second, Mr. Cassell's idea that Smith did not play an active and influential role in party politics after 1818 is simply erroneous and testifies to another weakness of the book: a lack of discussion about Maryland, even Baltimore, politics in terms of issues and organizations. Smith was a masterful party organizer and leader (as Mr. Cassell so well points out about Smith during the 1790's in chapters 5 and 6), and very much opposed the Calhounites in Maryland during the 1820's. His nephew, Dabney Smith Carr, founded and edited the *Baltimore Republican*, which identified Smith's ex-Crawfordites with the Jacksonian coalition. In some ways, Smith's political role during the 1820's was just as important as his earlier career during the 1790's. By not detailing the wider background of Maryland politics, Mr. Cassell leaves his reader with the erroneous impression that Smith merely served as a symbol of a bygone age during the 1820's (pp. 219-54).

The strength of the book lies in the well written middle chapters which deal with Smith's congressional career from 1792 through 1816. Mr. Cassell nicely describes Smith's role in the Burr-Jefferson disputed election of 1801, in Jefferson's second and controversial administration, and his stormy career during Madison's two terms in office. Smith emerges as a party maverick in these pages and Mr. Cassell stresses how Smith based his political actions upon "economic rather than party interests" (chapters 5 and 6 *passim*; also pp. 102, 105, 110, 160,

214). Also—and quite rightly—Mr. Cassell gives a very full account of Smith's command of the defense of Baltimore against the British in 1814. The volume itself is well indexed, the footnotes are at the bottom of the page, it has amazingly few printing errors, contains seven illustrations of Smith at different ages as well as of his wife and home, and its attractive blue color would have delighted Samuel Smith himself.

Wayne State University

GARY L. BROWNE

William Vans Murray, Federalist Diplomat: The Shaping of Peace with France, 1797-1801. By Peter P. Hill. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971. Pp. x, 241. \$8.50.)

Maryland's Eastern Shore produced two distinguished diplomats during the nation's early, rather troubled years: William Carmichael and William Vans Murray. Unhappily, comparatively little of either man's private papers has survived, so that much of their personalities and careers has been lost except for what can be gleaned and interpolated from random sources, incomplete and sketchy diaries, and official records. Carmichael's career has suffered much the worst fate, to be sure, since there is evidently no knowing even his age when he died at his post in Madrid in 1795. But Murray's early life, including something "of the circumstances which molded the mature politician and diplomat" is only slightly less obscure, judging from the short background chapter that opens this first "full-dress biography."

Those familiar with standard works on the Washington and Adams administrations, especially Professor Alexander DeConde's two articles dealing with Murray's crucial role as the United States minister-resident at The Hague and his recent study on *The Quasi-War* with France, will find few major surprises here. Rather, Professor Hill has undertaken to reaffirm and expand an accepted thesis while at the same time adding interesting, valuable, and sometimes important detail to the story. Chief among his contributions is the theme that Murray, although a Hamiltonian Federalist in certain subjects, may better be appreciated as a party maverick, ultimately as an "Adams Federalist" whose intelligence, loyalty, and resourcefulness kept the nation's best interests constantly before him, but whose independent habits made him something less than a regular participant in the party's inner councils.

Not surprisingly, Hill credits Murray with salvaging Franco-American relations after the celebrated XYZ affair by pursuing unauthorized discussions which eventually produced requisite assurances that another American embassy would be honorably received, and with forestalling a possible civil war by providing President John Adams with documentary substantiation of those assurances at the eleventh hour. Perhaps so; but like DeConde, Hill's research sheds no new light on the motives that led Federalists and Republicans to regard each other in such jaundiced, irreconcilable terms. Indeed, Hill is quite content to follow

the work of Manning Dauer and Stephen G. Kurtz on the domestic crisis. This may be adequate for his purposes, generally speaking, but one is still left with a poor understanding of why Murray was chosen to replace John Quincy Adams at The Hague in 1797, how Murray was able to survive Secretary of State Timothy Pickering's francophobic scheming, and above all, how the President managed to get a man of Murray's alleged "slender political abilities" confirmed in 1799 as minister to France merely by yielding to opposition demands for an irregular three-man commission. Did Murray's nomination open an irreparable breach within Federalist ranks, as some have contended? Hill treats the question diffidently, and makes no effort to account for the fact that, unlike Adams' other two nominees to the commission, the Senate nevertheless accepted Murray by unanimous vote.

Still, the shortcomings of this book are mainly ones of organization and format rather than of research. Hill seems to have pursued any and all avenues in his quest to master Murray's career, including foreign sources, without failing to do justice to pertinent developments in the Batavian Republic, one of Napoleon's satellite kingdoms. Sadly, however, a story containing several heroic elements has been robbed of much drama through broken and uneven chapter development.

Wisconsin State University
Platteville

JAMES F. VIVIAN

James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity. By Harry Ammon. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971. Pp. xi, 706. \$12.95.)

In the idiom of Broadway, this is a bright season for the Virginia Dynasty. Within the past year or so have come superb works on Jefferson by Dumas Malone and Merrill Peterson and on Madison by Ralph Ketcham. Now Harry Ammon rounds out the triumvirate with a mature and informative treatment of James Monroe. Using a traditional approach for political biography, Ammon follows his subject chronologically through a long and eventful public career. This richly footnoted account is based on a thorough mining of primary sources; the tone is favorable to Monroe but is not uncritical.

One of the cardinal features of the volume is Ammon's sense of context. He establishes, for instance, the context of impinging personalities, as in his profiles of the members of Monroe's cabinet. Context of place emerges in descriptions of the various capitals in which Monroe served as a state politician and as an American congressman, diplomat, and chief executive. A social frame—life in the White House and among the Virginia gentry—is included, as is that of private circumstance, such as Monroe's family joys and tribulations and his lifelong struggle for financial security. Of especial interest to scholars is the historiographical dimension. In a gentle and entirely professional manner, Ammon challenges or endorses by name the findings of Bemis, Brant, Freeman, and

Henry Adams, among others. A final context—and one in which the author excels—is that of the dynamics of political change. The whos, whats, and hows of party developments, legislative battles, and election campaigns in Virginia and the nation are laid bare with authority and precision.

In Ammon's straightforward prose, Monroe rises from Jefferson's protégé to a "coworker dedicated to the same goals" (p. 79). Despite some personality differences, the two men and Madison labored "together with a degree of understanding and harmony without parallel in American history" (p. 80). In the 1790's Monroe played a "central role" in transforming a Republican faction into an established party. His difficulties as minister to France must be seen in the light of the intense partisanship of the period. The author's chapter on Monroe as governor of Virginia shows how an often-belittled office could become an agency of vigor and achievement. Ammon is modest about Monroe's contribution to the Louisiana Purchase and credits Jefferson's firmness with forcing Napoleon's decision. Monroe's misadventured diplomacy in England and Spain are recounted in a somewhat defensive fashion, as is his halfhearted presidential race in 1808.

As a cabinet member under Madison, Monroe made the most of a bad situation and emerged first in line for the presidency. Ammon recognizes that most contemporaries found him less talented than Jefferson and Madison, but adds that "all acknowledged that his sound judgment, his administrative abilities and his long service to the nation . . . gave him a just claim to the succession" (p. 353). The author accepts "The Era of Good Feelings" as an apt description of Monroe's goals as chief executive. Ammon details the difficulties in Monroe's "politics of consensus"—with its war on partisanship—but concludes that his first term was basically successful. His "program of moderate nationalism" at home gained favor, as did his diplomacy in dealing with "the all-absorbing problem . . . created by Spain's crumbling American empire" (p. 409).

Acknowledging a close relationship between Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Ammon argues that the former made the broad decisions while allowing Adams much freedom of implementation. The Monroe Doctrine was less important for its principles than for "the way in which they were enunciated"—which in fact made the statement "a diplomatic declaration of independence" (p. 491). Ammon suggests Monroe's solution to the Panic of 1819 was a limited one of urging "frugality, economy, and industry" (p. 465), but credits him with considerable behind-the-scenes activity in support of the Missouri Compromise. Of other domestic matters, the author believes that, "After 1822 . . . an 'Era of Bad Feelings' totally eclipsed the harmony evident during the first term" (p. 529). A principal source of this discord was the opportunistic and early sparring of five prominent candidates for the election of 1824. In the absence of party structure and discipline, much less of an opposition party, reputations were made by attacking administration policy. "The ambitions of the rivals for the succession" also cost Monroe his "dream of a *rapprochement* with Great Britain" (p. 527).

To recognize a virtue in Ammon's sure grasp of his source material and his establishment of a clear and judicious narrative is, at the same time, to confess a frustration that he did not more often go beyond that into the realm of

extended evaluation. One misses a systematic analysis of Monroe's ideas and personality, and an explanation of how a partisan, state-rights, strict-construction, Anglophobe, Virginia politician became a president who opposed parties, exalted national harmony, pursued a *rapprochement* with England, and supported a federal bank, protective tariff, and the like. Some key chapters consist largely of a sequence of occasionally conflicting contemporary testimony, which leaves the reader to arbitrate and to wish for the author's informed judgment. Ammon's subtitle—"the quest for national identity"—is discussed in his introduction, but it hardly seems to have provided a conceptual theme or structure for the book. Finally, the bibliography is marred by numerous errors and stops at early 1967 in its eclectic list of published sources.

On the balance, however, there is *far more* to praise than to criticize in this important work, which no doubt becomes the standard biography of Monroe and which also says much about political developments in the formative years of the Republic.

Virginia Commonwealth University

DANIEL P. JORDAN

George Peabody: A Biography. By Franklin Parker. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971. Pp. x, 233. \$8.95.)

In the mid-nineteenth century George Peabody (1795-1869) enjoyed international repute as financier and philanthropist. A century after his death Peabody remains a presence because many of the institutions he founded and endowed are still in existence and most of them continue to bear his name. Peabody the man is less well known than his institutional descendants. Born in South Danvers (now, naturally, Peabody), Massachusetts, he began his working life at the age of eleven as a grocer's apprentice. In 1815 he commenced a successful mercantile and banking career in Baltimore and, in 1837, moved the seat of his operations to London. For the latter half of his life Peabody resided in England but his business activities and family connections kept him in close touch with American affairs. As he prospered as an international investment banker he used his wealth and influence to foster friendly relations between his adopted and native countries. When Peabody died elaborate funeral rites on both sides of the Atlantic memorialized his contributions to Anglo-American friendship and reconciliation between North and South.

Peabody's latest biographer is Franklin Parker, Benedum Professor of Education at West Virginia University. The book is a condensed version of Parker's Ed. D. dissertation submitted at George Peabody College for Teachers in 1956. In dealing with Peabody's financial career Parker relies on, and refers readers to, Muriel Hidy's "George Peabody, Merchant and Financier, 1829-1854" (Ph. D. dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1939). The focus of Parker's study is on Peabody's personal life and philanthropic activities. His research in both manuscript and printed sources seems to have been a labor of love. Some of Parker's findings

have previously been published in *The Peabody Journal of Education*, *The Peabody Reflector* and *The Peabody Notes*. The present work contains no footnotes, but quotations and references in the text are readily identifiable in the Bibliographic Essay. In addition to a formal bibliography the author has prepared an Appendix providing bibliographical information on Peabody's contributions to finance, libraries, education, housing, science, and foundations.

The story of Peabody's personal life, the honors bestowed on him, and the ceremonials he attended does not make for lively reading. He was a dignified, reserved, and cautious man who was afflicted with gout and subject to bilious fevers. Parker describes him (p. 19) as careful in his dress and conscious of the impression he made on others:

His manner toward everyone was cordial, but he discouraged familiarity, and, as he grew older, he often avoided close friendships. No one, not even, perhaps, the members of his own family, really knew him intimately. George Peabody always remained a man very much on his own.

Peabody was unmarried, but reportedly had a mistress who bore him a daughter.

Peabody's contributions to philanthropy totalled about \$7,000,000. He set an example for later millionaires not only in the liberality of his gifts but in the objects and methods of his giving. Peabody identified philanthropy not with charity, religion, or moral reform but with the advancement of education, scientific research, cultural amenities, and opportunities for self-help. He gave during his lifetime rather than by bequest. His largest endowments, the Peabody Donation Fund in London and the Peabody Education Fund "to aid the stricken South," demonstrated the usefulness of the foundation as a philanthropic device. The work of the Education Fund exerted a strong influence on the subsequent development of American foundations.

Parker's book provides useful information on the circumstances and considerations affecting each of Peabody's major contributions. Merle Curti has added a succinct and perceptive Foreword which analyzes the significance of Peabody's gifts for his own time and in the general history of American philanthropy.

Ohio State University

ROBERT H. BREMNER

The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Volume 1: I Will Be Heard! 1822-1835. Edited by Walter M. Merrill. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971. Pp. xxx, 616. \$20.00.)

William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the *Liberator* and founder of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, remains one of the truly controversial figures in American history. Given the fact that he made revolutionary changes in race relations his life-long concern, differences of opinion respecting his career are all but inevitable. But whether he is ranked as the American Moses who hand-in-

hand with Abraham Lincoln led the enslaved out of their bondage and into the land promised them by abolitionism or whether he is ranked as the evil genius whose misguided fanaticism gave rise only to continuing anguish for slave and enslaver alike, his importance is not easily minimized.

Despite what would appear to be this indisputable verdict, a few historians, most notably Gilbert H. Barnes in *The Antislavery Impulse* (1933) and Dwight L. Dumond in *Antislavery, the Crusade for Freedom in America* (1961), made the attempt to remove Garrison from the eminent place he had so long occupied among American reformers. Their books assessed Garrison's influence on the developing antislavery movement as minimal. Where his influence did appear, they judged it to be harmful to the abolitionist cause.

With the publication of this handsome volume, the first of a projected six or eight the editor tells us, interested readers for the first time have available the sources that will help them make their own assessment of Garrison's significance and character. The letters of some of Garrison's co-workers in abolitionism—Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, Sarah Grimké, and James G. Birney—have been available in scholarly editions for more than thirty years. It is curious that we have for so long lacked a comparable collection of Garrison's correspondence. In the last century Garrison's sons prepared a voluminous life of their father in which they included large selections from his writings and correspondence. But these were often fragmentary and highly selective. One could never be sure that pious sons had not, perhaps unconsciously, selected their sources so as to portray a revered father in a manner more favorable than the facts warranted.

There can be no such doubts about this edition. Here are printed in their entirety two hundred forty of Garrison's letters gathered from a wide variety of scattered sources and repositories. They have been meticulously annotated by the editor, who not only diligently identifies the frequently obscure persons whom Garrison mentions but also traces to their source his numerous literary allusions and quotations. The editor has supplied a useful chronology of Garrison's life, a brief, factual biography, and an index of letter recipients and of names mentioned in the letters.

The correspondence begins with Garrison's youthful letters directed to the editor of the Newburyport *Herald*, wherein he takes a stand against marriage (this was not, one should note, an anti-institutional or revolutionary position on his part); it closes thirteen years later with letters addressed to his wife in which he refers to various incidents of mob violence directed against abolitionists. In between is the record of Garrison's involvement in and his shaping of the most influential reform movement of his time.

The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital. By Emory M. Thomas. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971. Pp. viii, 227. \$6.75.)

Students of urban life tend to fall into one of two categories: the social chroniclers, like Margaret Leech, who inundate their readers with a flood of trivial detail in order to convey a Proustian sense of the past; and the institutionalists, like Sam Bass Warner, Jr., who eschew description in favor of more selective analysis of voting patterns, class divisions, the development of municipal agencies, and the like. Emory M. Thomas, in his "biography" of wartime Richmond, combines elements of both approaches. The result is a fast-paced, entertaining narrative that skims deftly over persons and problems without ever getting to the roots of either.

Thomas writes well and in an age of overlong and overwritten books it is hard to chide an author whose strong points are brevity and directness. But these admirable qualities are here purchased at the expense of evading the most significant problems raised by his materials. How *did* the Civil War transform the political, economic, and social life of Richmond? Thomas raises the question repeatedly, talks much of reciprocal influences between the city and the Confederate government, and concludes that by 1865 Richmond embodied the idealism of the Southern cause to such an extent that she became, for all practical purposes, a "Confederate polis . . . a city-state." Yet much of his evidence contradicts the romantic image of a nation in arms, while the final impression left by his work is that the wartime crisis brought no enduring changes whatever to Richmond.

That may well be true, of course, but then why place so much stress upon ephemeral adjustments dictated by emergency conditions, such as the predictable expansion of municipal services in the area of poor relief and food procurement? Thomas is notably weak in dealing with institutional changes of any kind, and by ending his account with the fall of Richmond obviates the need to discuss the long-range implications of wartime policies. But even within the narrow chronological limits that he sets for himself, he fails to explore his themes in a systematic fashion. Take the question of the police, for example. In 1861 Richmond's old-fashioned constable-and-watch system was hopelessly outdated; during the war, when the police functioned as an adjunct to the military, officials were introduced for the first time to notions of centralized management, the use of detectives and of deadly weapons, etc. Did these developments mark the beginnings of modernization, professionalization, or militarization of the police, as happened in other Southern cities? Thomas does not pursue any of these obvious lines of inquiry, nor does he give any indication of the status of the police at the end of the war. Similarly, although he mentions the creation of many philanthropic organizations between 1861 and 1865, he does not explore their methods of operation or their possible contribution to a new philosophy of depersonalized social service—a theme well handled in relation to Northern philanthropy by George M. Fredrickson in *The Inner Civil War*.

The episodic quality of Thomas's entire book makes it at once peculiarly

tantalizing and frustrating. Like an experienced TV news commentator, he moves smartly from one topic to another, seldom pausing to look back at yesterday's headlines or to speculate on future trends. We are given a vivid description of the Richmond bread riot of April, 1863, and assured that the workers who met the following October to demand food price controls "evidenced real awareness of class." Yet when their demand was turned down by the authorities, we hear no more of them. In the later stages of the war, when economic conditions were much worse, we are told that Richmonders unanimously supported the Confederacy. What happened to all those erstwhile demonstrators and potential militants? And who made "the very welkin ring with cheers" as the Federal troops marched at last into Capitol Square?

After making all due allowance for the fragmentary nature of Thomas's source materials (and he utilizes an impressive array of private manuscripts, official documents, biographies and autobiographies, travel accounts, newspapers, and periodicals), some answers to a host of basic and legitimate questions should have been essayed. In its present form his study, for all its conscientious research and engaging style, is far more likely to appeal to the uncritical general reader than to those seriously interested in the subject.

Catholic University

MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD

George Frisbie Hoar and the Half-Breed Republicans. By Richard E. Welch, Jr. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971. Pp. 339. \$14.00.)

Half-Breed Republicans are usually defined by historians, when they make the attempt at all, as the supporters of James G. Blaine or as the party group whose policies occupied the middle ground between the Stalwarts and the reformers. Richard E. Welch, Jr. would agree with both definitions, but only as starting points. His biography of George Frisbie Hoar is really a lengthy and complete definition of the undeniably complex phenomenon of the Half-Breed.

Hoar was an early and predictable convert to the Republican party. Nurtured in the intellectual climate of Concord, a product of Harvard and Harvard Law School, and a grandson of Roger Sherman—a signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—Hoar joined him family in leaving the Whigs in 1848 for the Free Soil party. When he left the Whig party he did not abandon its economic program. His disillusionment was over the moral issue of slavery in the territories. As a young attorney in Worcester he was instrumental in the founding of the local Republican party. This party, in Massachusetts as elsewhere, was "a composite of materialism and idealism," according to the author, combining antislavery humanitarianism and the Whig economic program.

Welch believes that Hoar was loyal to these two segments of Republicanism for the remainder of his career, and that this loyalty marks him as a Half-Breed. During a thirty year span in the House and Senate (in later years he was often

called the dean of the Senate), Hoar always was a party regular, damning with equal fury the Stalwart spoilsmen and the reformer bolters. Thus in 1890 he fought for the election law to reform voting in the South and helped write the Sherman Anti-Trust Act; in 1899 he championed anti-imperialism; and always he supported the "legitimate" rights of labor. On the other hand, he supported Grant in 1872, Blaine in 1884 (calling the candidate imprudent, not corrupt), the principles of protection, the gold standard, and the rights of capital. Welch says that his stands often made him seem liberal to conservatives and conservative to liberals, but that through it all, his position might be summed up as an "advocate of cautious change." "The promise of America was so great, he believed that there was no reason for labor violence or corporate greed. . . . The American capitalist system was essentially fair and equitable." The support of industrial growth thus offered the best chance for economic progress for all Americans.

It would then follow that the progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt was not a new departure for the Republican party. In fact, Welch would seem to believe that Roosevelt, also an advocate of "cautious change" and also a party "regular," was in the best tradition of Hoar and Half-Breed Republicanism, though he says the Half-Breeds typified a "misunderstood transition" between the party of U.S. Grant and that of Roosevelt.

Though a carefully researched and clearly and interestingly written biography of George Frisbe Hoar, this volume is also an excellent history of mainstream Republicanism in the years between the Civil War and the McKinley administration. It is welcome added documentation to the idea that the Republican party did not experience an overnight metamorphosis from the idealistic and humanistic posture of the Lincoln years into the stereotyped capitalist-serving, labor-baiting party of Josephson's *Politicos*, only to return once more to humanitarian reform concerns under Roosevelt.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD WALTER CURL

Jew and Italian: Historic Group Relations and the New Immigration (1881-1924). By Rudolf Glanz. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1971. Pp. 223. \$10.00.)

Inter-group relations among America's ethnic peoples provides the student with a broad vista. Traits and developments attributed to one group or studied with a focus upon one group show cross influences when placed in this broader framework.

In the case of Dr. Glanz's book, the results point to fascinating areas of contact between Italians and Jews. Here two dissimilar new immigrant groups are placed in contrast and co-operation. Their rates of migration, return rate, enumeration by sex and age, education, occupation, political and economic ideology are described in chapters detailing their union activities, political

involvement, and cultural development. Dr. Glanz outlines the attitudes of Jews towards Italians—admiration of their agricultural skills, appreciation of aid given to Russian Jews arriving in Italy in the wake of czarist persecutions—and Italian attitudes towards the Jews—admiration for Jewish philanthropy, economic success, and respect for education.

The author documents his discussion with references to primary materials in Yiddish and Italian. He includes magazines, union papers, and U.S. Government documents in his informative footnotes. Both the scope of the study and its extensive documentation provide an impressive display of research.

The most serious failing of this book, however, stems from the very abundance of documentation. Much of the text reflects unsynthesized information. The material placed in categories does not provide a logical development except perhaps in the sections dealing with union activity. Here Dr. Glanz draws a cause and effect relationship between the two groups. The Jews provided leadership and initiative and the Italians gained economic awareness in association with their fellow workers.

In a larger sense Dr. Glanz has set before us a tempting prospect. The many intertwining facets of Jewish/Italian interaction are intriguing and important. He establishes the framework and provides a review of the background material. Perhaps his efforts will stand as a challenge for others to complete the investigation.

Towson State College

J. SCARPACI

The Higher Realism of Woodrow Wilson and Other Essays. By Arthur S. Link. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971. Pp. xxii, 425. \$12.95.)

The Higher Realism of Woodrow Wilson includes the essays which Arthur S. Link has written during his distinguished career since World War II. These collected essays provide a concise statement of his interpretation of Wilson as a scholar, politician, and diplomat. Attempting to refute what he regards as the so-called realist view of George F. Kennan and Hans J. Morgenthau, Link adopts their terminology while giving it a Wilsonian meaning. He argues that Wilson, since "he was *primarily* a Christian idealist," was "the supreme realist." By looking beyond the mundane concerns of the so-called realists, the President perceived reality on a higher level. He epitomized what Link calls "higher realism." The acceptance of this interpretation, as Link himself acknowledges in his analysis of Wilson's English critics, requires a "great act of faith." It is easier for this reviewer to share Link's recognition of Wilson's "adherence to a rigid moral code" based on "the Calvinistic emphasis upon universal moral law" than to agree with his contention that Wilson had "come to an understanding of what is called contextual or relativistic ethics." Although his conclusion that Wilson was both an idealist and a realist is dubious, Link deserves credit for attempting to assess the impact of the Presbyterian inheritance on Wilson's

leadership. Other recent scholars who have viewed the President as a realist have tended to ignore his dedication as a churchman. Link's interpretation of Wilson's "higher realism" reflects his progressive philosophy of history. As a central theme throughout the essays, Link emphasizes the contrast between the progressives and the conservatives or reactionaries. Wilson and his followers were generally identified as the progressives, while his opponents were viewed as the conservatives. The progressive movement in the South reached its zenith when Democrats throughout the southern states rallied behind Wilson in 1912 and when they later contributed to his transition from New Freedom to New Nationalism. In contrast to the European reactionaries, Wilson offered the progressive vision of a new world order at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Their refusal to accept his leadership, according to Link, not only destroyed the prospect of an enduring Versailles settlement but also undermined Wilson's political position in the United States. As a consequence the Republicans defeated the League of Nations and gained control of the White House. Although the progressive movement was not dead in the 1920's, the Republican presidents ushered in a period of political reaction. Lacking a rigorous definition, Link tends to identify progressivism with Wilson's position at a given moment. For example, while other politicians were regarded as reactionaries because of their affiliation with political machines, Link views Wilson as a realist when he abandoned some of his erstwhile progressive supporters after the election of 1912 to gain the votes for his legislative program from the political bosses in the Congress. Oscar Underwood, despite his identification with tariff reform, appears as a reactionary when he opposed Wilson for the Democratic nomination in 1912; when Wilson advocated tariff reform and, with Underwood's assistance, achieved it in 1913, that was progressive. To the extent that the progressive movement endured in the 1920's, it continued the kinds of activities which Wilson had earlier favored. By giving such a personal definition to progressivism, Link runs the risk of considering Wilson as a hero and his opponents as villains. Although he generally avoids this pitfall, he occasionally succumbs to the temptation of converting the progressives into heroes and the reactionaries into villains. This difficulty, which is a manifestation of his progressive philosophy of history, appears in Link's attack on Wilson's English critics. He blames Lloyd George and other British leaders for the failure of the Paris Peace Conference. Their misperception of Wilson and their refusal to accept his leadership, Link argues, explains "why events turned out so dismally when they might have led to the beginning of a new and brighter international era." This interpretation reflects Link's belief in progress and his conviction that Wilson was its foremost advocate. From the perspective of this faith, Link affirms that Wilson was an outstanding progressive statesman and that he epitomized "higher realism." Although this reviewer does not find this interpretation persuasive, Link has unquestionably offered an extremely able defense of Wilson's position.

A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library: Accessions through the Year 1965. By John Beverley Riggs. (Greenville, Delaware: Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, 1970. Pp. xxii, 1205. \$15.00.)

This amazingly complete listing of the manuscript holdings at Eleutherian Mills is more a calendar of collections than a conventional guide. In fact there is so much detail—complex listings, biographical chronologies, bibliographical data, two appendixes and a 202 page index—that some students might find it a bit difficult to use. The Guide may be considered unwieldy, but it certainly cannot be accused of being incomplete. Given the nature of the collections as well as the scores of Du Ponts described, it may well be that a very detailed guide is the least confusing approach.

This catalog, comprising accessions at Eleutherian Mills only up to 1965, lists over 2,580,000 manuscripts. Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, a consolidation of the former Du Pont Library at Longwood, Pennsylvania, and the Hagley Museum Library already at Greenville, specializes in the economic and industrial history of the Middle Atlantic States. Quite naturally the largest bulk of manuscripts—perhaps four-fifths of the total—relates to the Du Pont family and E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. This material is described in five separately listed categories: The Longwood Manuscripts; The Henry Francis Du Pont Collection of Winterthur Manuscripts; Records of E. I. Du Pont De Nemours & Co., 1801-1902; the P. S. Du Pont Office Collection; and The Eleuthera Bradford Du Pont Collection.

The core of the Library's manuscript holdings then is the business and personal papers of the Du Pont family. But Eleutherian Mills is also firmly committed to collecting material relating to the economic history of the Delaware Valley, including eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, and these are listed in almost 300 pages of text under the heading "Alphabetical Listing of Accessions Received Through the Year 1965."

Given the immense value of the collections, it is unfortunate that Eleutherian Mills chose to rely on offset printing from typescript, for the result is of very uneven quality. Some pages are so faint they are hard to read. Certainly the Du Pont manuscripts merit a letterpress edition. And too, I found the guide uncomfortable, if not difficult to read, with its forbidding double column format and lack of indentation or bold face type for collection names.

It took Riggs and his staff five years to produce this incredibly detailed guide, and in this time 1,000,000 new manuscripts have been acquired. Eleutherian Mills hopes to keep researchers informed of these new accessions by periodical supplements. The Eleutherian Mills manuscript *Guide* is an essential tool for scholars interested in the business, economic, industrial, and technological history of the nation.

BOOK NOTES

FOR almost forty years thousands of young Marylanders have read *My Maryland: Her Story for Boys and Girls* by Beta Kaessmann, Harold Randall Manakee, and Joseph L. Wheeler. The first edition, published by Ginn and Company in 1934, proved so popular and useful that a new, revised edition was published by the Maryland Historical Society in 1955. Many changes have come to the state since the calm 1950's, but *My Maryland* continues as the best one volume history of the state for young people. To keep it ever relevant and up-to-date, the authors in 1971 have once more revised their work. Minor revisions and additions were made throughout the text, yet the most significant changes come in the final section. In a new chapter entitled "Different People Have Helped Maryland to Grow," the authors have added a concise survey of the histories and achievements of the various ethnic and minority groups that have contributed so much to the state and nation. The major groups covered include Negroes, Czechoslovakians, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians. Newly chosen illustrations enhance this section of the book. As a result, this sixth printing (made possible with assistance from the Jacob and Annita France Foundation) by the Maryland Historical Society of *My Maryland* guarantees future years of success and use. And as a generation of teachers and parents have discovered, *My Maryland* answers questions and teaches history on both sides of the generation gap. Happily—thanks to the authors—it will continue to do so.

Nineteen seventy-two being a presidential campaign year with all the attendant inflated rhetoric and issues either exaggerated or ignored, many readers will find most appropriate *The Coming to Power: Critical Presidential Elections in American History*. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Fred L. Israel. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971, 1972. Pp. xxi, 550. \$12.50.) The editors have reprinted essays discussing what they consider the fifteen most critical elections from the forty-six (1789-1968) described in their four-volume *History of American Presidential Elections* (1971). Well chosen specialists have analyzed these crucial elections in skillfully written, succinct accounts. They show how influential certain elections have been, and in so doing have luckily captured the fervor and sense of importance of the various campaigns. The articles are supplemented with forty-five pages of voting statistics and a detailed index. Every college and school library will find this a useful book; historians and armchair politicians will find it fascinating.

Another contemporary issue is illuminated in *Viet-Nam Crisis, A Documentary History*, vol. I, 1940-1956. Edited by Allan W. Cameron. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971. Pp. xxiv, 452. \$15.00.) This work reprints 190 documents dealing mostly with American policy, but also with Vietnamese history and political developments. Some of the documents are published here for the first time in English, and about half of the selections are printed in their entirety. The editor provides introductory comments placing each selection in its historical context. The annotation is complete, but this volume contains only a very brief bibliography and no index.

Still another present-day issue (or rather threat) is placed in historical context by Irving Brant, Madison's biographer, in his *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972. Pp. v, 202, vii. \$5.95). Brant presents a brief sketch of the doctrine of impeachment as used and abused by Congress. He concludes by suggesting a remedy.

History of Middle Tennessee, or, Life and Times of General James Robertson. By A. W. Putnam. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971. [Originally published in 1859.] Pp. xxi, 682. \$15.00.) The reprinting of this detailed account of the Nashville region of the Cumberland Valley represents a real service to historians, for Putnam included many valuable letters and documents illuminating the early days of the Tennessee Frontier. Fortunately the press has added an introductory essay by Stanley F. Horn and a modern index prepared by Hugh and Cornelia Walker.

The History of the Province of New-York. Vol. I, *From the First Discovery to the Year 1732*; Vol. II, *A Continuation, 1732-1762*. By William Smith, Jr. Edited by Michael Kammen. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972. I, pp. lxxxi, 366; II, pp. viii, 331. \$25.00 the set.) This superbly edited version of a work originally published in 1757 indicates the quality of contribution that can be made to historical scholarship by conscientious reprinting. Smith's history is, of course, one of the finest contemporary chronicles of colonial America, and is an important intellectual document in itself. Kammen of Cornell University has written a comprehensive introduction that epitomizes Smith's eventful life, brilliantly surveys British-American historical writing, 1660-1760, and concludes with a judicious evaluation of Smith's historical abilities, his sources and his critics. Kammen also supplies careful annotation, including marginalia that Smith added to his own copy. Several appendixes contain a long biographical directory of persons discussed in the text and a selection of correspondence revealing the reception the history received. Volume II has a detailed index for both volumes.

Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West. Prepared under the general supervision of Robert M. Utley. (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1971. Pp. xvi, 453. \$4.00.) This is a new edition of a work first published in 1963. In addition to sketching the ethnic clashes resulting from westward migration in the nineteenth century, the profusely illustrated volume describes 214 historical sites identified with important events in Indian-White relations. In addition there are nine maps and an excellent index.

Howard McKnight Wilson presents a detailed history of Presbyterianism in western Virginia in his *The Lexington Presbytery Heritage*. (Verona, Virginia: McClure Press, 1971. Pp. xiv, 510. \$8.50.) The number of maps and the precise documentation make this a useful factual summary of an influential group of southern churchmen. The volume contains over 200 pages listing all the churches, ministers, elders, and deacons—from the beginning to 1970—for the entire synod. There are several helpful appendixes and an exceptionally complete index.

An Index to Scientific Articles on American Jewish History. Edited by Jacob R. Marcus. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., and Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1971. Pp. 240. \$17.50.) The title of this publication could be misleading, for it is simply a bibliography of scholarly articles published in thirteen Jewish periodicals. Articles are listed alphabetically by author and title, and when the subject matter is obvious, by topic. The result is clearly a most useful research tool. Because of the alphabetical arrangement there is no index.

The Confederate Navy: A Study in Organization. By Tom Henderson Wells. (University, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 1971. Pp. ix, 182. \$7.50.) This is a detailed, analytical study of each part of the Confederate navy organization. The author describes the origin, components, and function of the entire organization structure, and evaluates unfavorably its performance. There are several appendixes, a bibliographical essay, and an index.

History of Baltimore City and County. By J. Thomas Scharf. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1971. 2 vols. Pp. xii, 947. \$47.50.) This is a reprint of a one-volume work originally published in 1881, with an introduction by Edward G. Howard. Long the standard history of the area, it is a comprehensive work, treating the political, cultural, and social aspects of the times. There are many biographical sketches of noted citizens. The introduction is a scholarly and interesting evaluation of Scharf, discussing his methods of compilation and his numerous books. The badly compiled index has been reorganized. [P. W. Filby]

History of Caroline County, Maryland. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1971. Pp. 359. \$13.50.) This is a reprint of the only history of Caroline County ever published. The history begins in 1774 and continues to 1919, the date of the original issue. Because it is composed largely of material contributed by teachers and children of the county, it is at times a little ingenuous. But since it now has a detailed index by Emory Dobson, and since there are many biographical sketches of leading citizens, with the development of the county's towns, it is of considerable value for the local historian. [P. W. Filby]

History of Cecil County, Maryland. By George Johnston. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1972. Pp. xi, 548, xii. \$20.00.) This is a second reprint of the 1881 publication. There is a good coverage of the county's history for two and a half centuries, with extensive treatment accorded Augustine Herrman and Bohemia Manor. The early settlements around the head of the Chesapeake Bay and on the Delaware River are described and there are many sketches of the old families of the county. [P. W. Filby]

History of Cumberland. By Will H. Lowdermilk. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1971. Pp. 496, lviii. \$15.00.) This is a reprint of the original edition published in 1878. It is more than a history of the city of Cumberland; Lowdermilk treated the adjacent area extensively, and the war periods are studied. There is also attention given to the National Road and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. [P. W. Filby]

History of Harford County, from 1608 . . . to 1812. By Walter W. Preston. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1972. Pp. 360, xix. \$12.50.) This is also a reprint of the only history of the county ever published. It includes biographical sketches, muster rolls and other lists, and records the history of the county to 1901. [P. W. Filby]

NOTES AND QUERIES

On October 27, 1972 the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library will sponsor a conference entitled "American Antebellum Coastal Trade: New Theses." Papers will be delivered by Diane Lindstrom of the University of Wisconsin and Lawrence A. Herbst of Vassar College. Acting as discussants will be George Rogers Taylor Professor Emeritus, Amherst College and Albert Fishlow, Visiting Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford University. Anyone desiring further information or an invitation please contact Richard L. Ehrlich, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington, Delaware 19807.

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The schedule also includes the following festivities:

Friday, October 20: Dinner at the Maryland Inn followed by a Candlelight Tour of the Hammond-Harwood House.

Saturday, October 21: Water tour emphasizing maritime history and current significance; Maryland Avenue merchants' street fair; dinner at the Maryland Inn; Lantern-light Tavern Tour.

Sunday, October 22: Buffet hunt breakfast at the Maryland Inn; the "Incredible Change", a tour for preservationists and architects.

Historic Annapolis, Inc., a non-profit organization, receives no public funds for its operating expenses, but supports itself by dues, tours, and contributions. The delightful Heritage Weekend is a major fund-raising activity, all proceeds of which go toward preservation projects.

Reservations for the weekend are required as tickets are limited. Students accompanied by or sponsored by a professor are eligible for a student rate on the Preservation Tour. Reservations for the dinners should be made directly with the Maryland Inn, Church Circle, Annapolis. For further information write

Historic Annapolis, Inc., 64 State Circle, Annapolis, Maryland 21401. Telephone: (301) 267-8149.

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The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection is sponsoring an index of the decorated folk furniture of the Shenandoah Valley and the Virginia highlands to be compiled by Roderick Moore. Mr. Moore would like to hear about privately owned or unpublished pieces from these areas.

The purpose of the study is to present an exhibition of this material at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection in 1973 and have on permanent file photographs and specific information related to the topic for future researchers. Please send any information to Mr. Moore in care of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Drawer C, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

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Capitol Studies, a new interdisciplinary journal of history, political science, art and architecture, will be published twice yearly by the United States Capitol Historical Society. Articles published in the journal will be concerned with all aspects of the Capitol building as well as the two houses of Congress it serves.

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The editors are interested in receiving manuscripts and offers for reviews. For subscriptions or additional information write to: Capitol Studies, United States Capitol Historical Society, 200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

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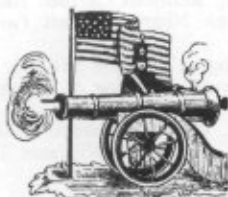
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